Commentary
December 1997

The Scandal of the Law Schools
Stephan Thernstrom

Politics and Jewish Giving
Jack Wertheimer

The Campaign-Finance Follies
Bradley A. Smith

Daughters of the (Sexual) Revolution
Wendy Shalit

On Arab Rejectionism
Daniel Pipes

Libertarians Abroad
Arch Puddington

The New New Music
Terry Teachout

Genes and Gender: Two Exchanges
Francis Fukuyama, Walter A. McDougall & Critics

Books in Review
James Nuechterlein • Ruth R. Wisse • Daniel J. Silver
Leslie Lenkowsky • Donald Kagan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT'S NOT THAT WE HAVE BETTER LAWYERS. WE HAVE BETTER REPORTERS.

At Forbes, we don't go to press until we're sure of the facts and confident of our opinions — no matter whom we might offend. Just ask the likes of Michael Levey of Positive Response Television. His company recently lost a libel action against Forbes. The presiding judge took the exceptional step of awarding Forbes financial sanctions against PRTV and its attorneys. A reminder to those who would threaten us with lawsuits: we regard them as a cost of doing business. Our readers wouldn't have it any other way.

Forbes
CAPITALIST TOOL
www.forbes.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commentary®

Vol. 104 · December 1997 · No. 6

ARTICLES

27
The Scandal of the Law Schools *Stephan Thernstrom*
The more the truth emerges, the more the defenders of racial preferences resort to denial, obfuscation, and falsehood.

32
Politics and Jewish Giving *Jack Wertheimer*
Once praised as a model for all Americans, a community's philanthropic structure is under threat of dissolution.

37
The Campaign-Finance Follies *Bradley A. Smith*
Regulating this form of political speech was a mistake in the first place; why compound it?

42
Daughters of the (Sexual) Revolution *Wendy Shalit*
Though they are increasingly distressed by our new erotic arrangements, feminists dare not say why.

46
On Arab Rejectionism *Daniel Pipes*
Wishful thinking aside, the real obstacle to peace in the Middle East remains what it has always been.

OBSERVATIONS

50
Libertarians Abroad *Arch Puddington*
A think tank with a disgraceful record on foreign policy is winning new friends and influence.

MUSIC

53
The New Tonalists *Terry Teachout*
Having traveled down one blind alley after another, composers are returning to the path of the classical tradition.

LETTERS

3
The new biology; women in the military; Frank Sinatra; etc.

BOOKS

58 Ronald Reagan by Dinesh D'Souza *James Nuechterlein*

60 Drawing Life by David Gelernter *Ruth R. Wisse*

63 Underworld by Don DeLillo *Daniel J. Silver*

65 The Future Once Happened Here by Fred Siegel *Leslie Lenkowsky*

68 Jackie Robinson by Arnold Rampersad *Donald Kagan*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Editor Neal Kozodoy
Managing Editor Brenda Brown
Senior Editor Gabriel Schoenfeld
Associate Editor Gary Rosen
Editor-at-Large Norman Podhoretz
Publisher Jonathan R. Cohen
Advertising Director Sarah M. Stern
Production Associate Matthew J. Burke

COMMENTARY (ISSN 0010-2601) is published monthly by the American Jewish Committee—EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 165 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022 Telephone: (212) 751-4000. Fax: (212) 751-1174. E-MAIL: Commentary@compuserve.com. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Letters intended for publication may be edited. Single copy is $3.75; $39 a year, 2 years $72, 3 years $105—Add $8.00 per year for all foreign subscriptions, including Canada and Latin America. For subscription information call: (800) 829-6270—Periodical postage paid at New York, NY and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to COMMENTARY, 165 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022. Copyright © 1997 by the American Jewish Committee; all rights reserved under International and Pan American Copyright Conventions—Indexed in *Reader's Guide*, *Book Review Digest*, and elsewhere—Available in reference systems produced by University Microfilms International (800) 521-0600 and Information Access Company (800) 227-8431—U.S. Newsstand Distribution by Eastern News Distributors Inc., 1130 Cleveland Rd., Sandusky, OH 44870. Printed in the U.S.A.

COMMENTARY is a member of The Leadership Network, Teri Schure, Chairperson.
(212) 686-1734; Fax (212) 889-5634

The Commentary Publication Committee

Robert L. Pelz, *Chairman*

Morris B. Abram
Stanford M. Adelstein
Norman E. Alexander
Morris H. Bergreen
Maurice S. Binkow
Howard I. Friedman
Stephen Friedman
Roger Hertog
Martin S. Kaplan
Morton A. Kornreich
Herbert T. Mines
Herman J. Obermayer
Robert A. Riesman
Gordon S. Rosenblum
Gary L. Rosenthal
Michael Saperstein
Michael W. Schwartz
Nanette Scofield
Henry Sherman
Walter P. Stern
Thomas J. Tisch
Ronald G. Weiner

A Statement of Aims

In sponsoring COMMENTARY, the American Jewish Committee aims to meet the need for a journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary issues. The opinions and views expressed by COMMENTARY's contributors and editors are their own, and do not necessarily express the Committee's viewpoint or position. The sponsorship of COMMENTARY by the Committee is in line with its general program to enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Jewish concern, to fight bigotry and protect human rights, and to promote Jewish cultural interest and creative achievement in America.

American Jewish Committee

Robert S. Rifkind, *President*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commentary
December 1997

Letters from Readers

The New Biology

To the Editor:

Because the genetic research now being funded by the Human Genome Project and other sponsors is so important to all of us, Francis Fukuyama's article, "Is It All in the Genes?" [September], is particularly disappointing.

He begins by claiming that anthropological theories depicting culture as the determining molder of individual and group identity are now being supplanted by those emphasizing inherited biogenetic characteristics. But the sources he cites for ethnological culturism are limited to a journalistic name-dropping trot across a narrow span of clichéd figures (Emile Durkheim, Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead). His citation of Clifford Geertz in this context makes one wonder if he has actually read Geertz's work.

Mr. Fukuyama then turns with evident enthusiasm to Edward O. Wilson's odd sociobiology, especially its gendered (dreadful term) implications for psychological outcomes, and to bio-evolutionary neo-Darwinism to explain social organization. His revival here of "altruism, sociability, reciprocity, fitness, and human instincts" recalls those disquisitions of grand old armchair theorists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries whom doctoral candidates once had to read and whose capacious generalities were beyond either confirmation or negation.

But anticipating that biological determinism will displace cultural determinism is a bit naive. The so-called social sciences have been built upon and permeated with numerous reductionist, usually mechanistic, "forces-and-factors" explanations, which prevail at established departments in every university and in textbooks as well. Litigation attorneys, welfare-state operatives, and political elites of both Left and Right find such explaining-away far too convenient ever to give it up; biological rationales will simply be added to the existing armamentarium.

A wasted opportunity is Mr. Fukuyama's failure to raise, much less examine, the many serious problems, personal and eventually political, that will appear with the successful mapping of the human genome. Although by no means complete, the list includes the further "thingifying" of the person; legal conflicts that will arise over putative genetic rights and responsibilities; and the personal anxiety and stress that will follow upon the widespread availability of genetic testing (including of embryos) for predisposition toward serious, often incurable, illnesses, along with a substantial increase in abortions as a result of such testing.

Thomas Fitzgerald
Ann Arbor, Michigan

To the Editor:

Though I found Francis Fukuyama's article solid and illuminating, I would like to correct two false notes in his analysis.

First, he deals too summarily with the sociologist Emile Durkheim's view of social facts. Durkheim's claim was not that biology had *no* role in society. Rather, he insisted only that there were some facts of human experience that were not reducible to the individual actor as a substrate.

The example Mr. Fukuyama cites in arguing against the social constructivists who resist acknowledging the role genetic endowments play in human affairs is the dearth of female Asian-American longshoremen (longshorepersons?). This fact does establish the importance of biology, but since, as history has shown, women may also perform this task, it is not deterministic. Social forces must also play a role. Thus, to explain the actual distribution of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor force by sex is to be faced with a multiplicity of causes—biologically necessary and historically contingent—that interact. Durkheim simply insisted that we explain whatever constitutes the social component of human behavior by the social factor.

Which leads to my second point. Mr. Fukuyama is too narrow when he states that

> the new biology would thus seem to lend intellectual support to classical liberalism, which operates on the premise that man in the state of nature is an isolated and selfish individual, coming together with other individuals in markets or civil society primarily as a means to satisfy his wants and needs.

In fact, evolutionary psychology presents, if anything, a better brief for community embeddedness being the original state of nature. As humans, we are "programmed" genetically in some measure, to be sure. But that for which we are programmed is, in most things that matter, socially shaped.

This is evident when Mr. Fukuyama treats the issue of reciprocity. Apparently wired into us, reciprocity is surely socially-targeted. It presupposes a relationship with others and establishes a measure for determining a balance in our dealings with others. Thus, in addition to selfish drives, what the genes must provide is the social ground in which our individual interests and appetites can be realized. Our most natural self, it would follow, is the socially-realized self.

Pure social constructivists are shallow, and Mr. Fukuyama is right to skewer them. But the situation is complicated. Properly understood, the new genetics leads to the collapse of many false dichotomies: not only nature/nurture, gene/environment, and innate/learned, but even individual/social.

DAVID MURRAY
Statistical Assessment Service
Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Fukuyama implies that the new biology is replacing the dictum of social determinism, "society made me do it," with "my genes made me do it." Biologists know better. When one of two identical twins exhibits symptoms of schizophrenia, the chance that the other twin will also develop the disease is about 50 percent. Both experience and heredity are contributory causes. Both are important, and to argue that one is more significant than the other is unsupported by the evidence.

Mr. Fukuyama further states that "The new biology leaves individual free will and personal responsibility intact." But what other factors are there besides societal determinism and genetic influence? The new biology has not taken sides on this subject. Only the philosophers, and of course the theologians, have.

When society is willing to acknowledge that free will is a figment of our imagination, that we have no censor (superego) acting in our brain, it will acknowledge that man is not responsible for what he does. Then, Mr. Fukuyama will really have something to worry about. Luckily, however, man is and remains accountable for his actions.

FELIX FRIEDBERG
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Fukuyama does well to highlight the increasing evidence of how our biological and genetic endowment influences and sets limits on marital and social behavior and on cultural evolution. Of special importance is his affirmation that "biology and culture interact in complex ways," and his recognition that the relationship between genome and learned social behavior is not deterministic, but of a linking nature.

However, despite his wisdom in avoiding the abyss of genetic determinism, Mr. Fukuyama carelessly discards a major body of tested knowledge and theory as to how the interaction of biological endowment and familial/social experience can and does convert aggression into affection, jealousy into friendship, and debilitating childhood anxiety into a capacity for friendly play and a readiness to learn.

Mr. Fukuyama also seems to be unaware that "chemical imbalances" (which may or may not respond to drug therapy) sometimes reflect a form of somatic adaptation that is distinctly related to social and emotional distress.

The reality of such interaction is well-established in a body of knowledge that has grown out of Freudian beginnings and is widely included in graduate and postgraduate study in social work, psychiatry, and much of clinical psychology. Psychodynamic theories of child development and human behavior are grounded in the very biological realities to which Mr. Fukuyama refers. This is a body of knowledge that is entirely friendly to the basic role of our phylogenic past and biological present in human behavior and the evolution of culture.

One should note, too, that the feminists Mr. Fukuyama claims are hostile to the new biology are members of the "socialist" or "radical" schools of feminist analysis. The "liberal" school of feminism, to which most women belong, seeks equal opportunity but not at the expense of children or of the role of a healthy, heterosexual marital axis for child development.

SHELDON RAHN
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Fukuyama nicely exposes the anti-biological and anti-empirical fanaticism that informs the argument of extreme cultural relativism. In the process, however, he dismisses Sigmund Freud as a pre-scientific primitive and mischaracterizes Freudian psychology as irrelevant, since, according to him, it explains behavior in terms of the psyche rather than in biological terms.

It is indeed strange to accuse Freud, of all people, of being insufficiently appreciative of biology. His great achievement was to provide a compelling description of human nature as fundamentally biological. For Freud, the function of the mind is to regulate our adaptation to our biological nature and to social reality. Thus, he is despised by those who are hostile to the very concept of human na-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Garnet Coleman is a hero."

TEXAS MONTHLY

JULY 1995

Texas state legislator Garnet Coleman fought depression most of his life.

But when his father died, the struggle became overwhelming. Garnet hid from his family and from life.

Thanks to psychotherapy and medicine made possible by Pfizer research, today Garnet's depression—and his career—are under control.

A fact highlighted when *Texas Monthly* called him a hero—for winning his personal battle and for the battles he fights on behalf of his constituents.

Pfizer

We're part of the cure.

www.pfizer.com

AOL keyword: Pfizer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture and who view behavior as infinitely plastic.

My best guess is that were he alive today, Freud would be an enthusiastic supporter of genetic and neurochemical research. However, he would probably find Mr. Fukuyama's positive assessment of the efficacy of drug therapy a bit premature, and he would be surprised that a writer who defends free will and human responsibility would be so dismissive of a therapeutic approach that seeks to expand the boundaries of choice and responsibility.

RICHARD SHUR
Ann Arbor, Michigan

TO THE EDITOR:

Let me take Francis Fukuyama's discussion a little farther. Think of the spider: no parent teaches it to build its web or how to hunt, nor is its behavior a response to odor or chemicals from other nearby spiders. This complex behavior must, then, be based on genes—i.e., "hard-wired." Which leads to another thought: virtually all vertebrates have, along with the drives of hunger and sex, a strongly developed sense of territory, which also must be hard-wired.

If true for other vertebrates, it must be true for humans. Call it what you will: a sense of territory, of ownership, of family first, of greed, of envy—it is basically the same. It can even be called "human nature." Look at the infant: he wants his toys to stay his, he shares only with difficulty, and early on learns the word "mine." Knowing that people live with a social contract, his mother teaches him to share more freely, with family first, then with tribe; but this is teaching superimposed on genetic substructure. The substructure is always there, ready to assert its primacy. If the mother teaches poorly, or if the child is raised as an absolute monarch, or if the social contract breaks down, the "mine" is there in its full and unrestrained supremacy.

It is possible to override this genetic trait by social conditioning, but the trait remains, ready to reassert itself under a variety of stimuli and opportunities. If I am right, then any effort at social improvement is at risk of failure unless it addresses this reality.

ARNOLD L. FLICK, M.D.
La Jolla, California

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Fukuyama could have used the Israeli kibbutz experiment with sexual equality to bolster his argument that behavioral differences between the sexes are of biological and not of cultural origin. The kibbutzim freed women of their traditional responsibilities by providing full-time child-care centers and communal kitchens. The experiment failed. In spite of ideological pressures, the women chose to work in the child-care centers and communal kitchens, whereas the men did the heaviest farm work and held most of the managerial positions. In addition, the women spent considerable time visiting their children at the centers.

ARMIN SOMMER
Brockport, New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Fukuyama's article is a brilliant analysis of the impact of biology on human behavior. Human behavior, with its infinite complexities, is certainly more a result of our genes than modern social scientists have been willing to acknowledge. Nevertheless, the mere fact that many (most?) people control their baser instincts indicates that human beings, as compared with other animals, possess the ability to exercise a degree of reason that often transcends biology.

I share Mr. Fukuyama's trepidation about the possible misuse of the findings of the new biology by materialists of various political philosophies. The relative importance of genes versus environment will be vigorously debated, as it should be. As Mr. Fukuyama implies, however, regardless of which influence on human

Gramercy Park Hotel

Your Private Oasis Just South of Midtown Manhattan

Imagine...You're just minutes away from a trip to Europe!
Whether you're dining on one of Chef Robert's 20 freshly prepared pastas ($12.50 - $19.50) or planning a wedding, (packages begin at just $57 per person), you'll find our hotel to be an oasis of Olde World charm. With Soho, the Village, Madison Square Garden and Off-Broadway theaters in the neighborhood, make it your business to pleasure yourself in style.
Our weekend Brunch ($14.95) is also a longtime favorite.

Singles $145-$150 • Doubles $160 • Suites $190-$230

21st Street & Lexington Ave.
New York, NY 10010
212-475-4320
Fax (212) 505-0535
Out of state call toll-free:
1-800-221-4083

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Set six AM and six FM stations.

Easily connect your CD player, cassette player, TV, or VCR.

HEAR WHY THE BOSE® WAVE® RADIO WAS NAMED A "BEST NEW PRODUCT OF 1994" BY *BUSINESS WEEK*.

Tabletop radios are popular for their convenience and small size. But their sound quality leaves much to be desired. No one really expects high-fidelity sound from a radio. Until now.

strengthens a breath of air to fill an entire concert hall, the waveguide produces room-filling sound from a small enclosure. This technology and performance is available in no other radio.

You'll touch a button and hear your favorite music come alive in rich stereo sound. You'll hear

CALL NOW AND MAKE SIX INTEREST-FREE PAYMENTS.

The Wave radio is available for $349 directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. So call 1-800-681-BOSE, ext. R6628, to learn more about our in-home trial and satisfaction guarantee. When you call, ask about our six-month installment payment plan.

HEAR THE RADIO THAT WOKE UP AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY.

Bose presents the Wave radio. It's the one radio acclaimed by leading audio critics. Because it's the one radio that delivers big, rich, lifelike stereo sound *plus* a small, convenient size.

Or, if you prefer, return the coupon below.

Wired magazine said it has a "clean, sweet sound that will have your friends wondering where you've hidden your fancy speakers." But you have to hear the Wave radio for yourself to believe it. Call today.

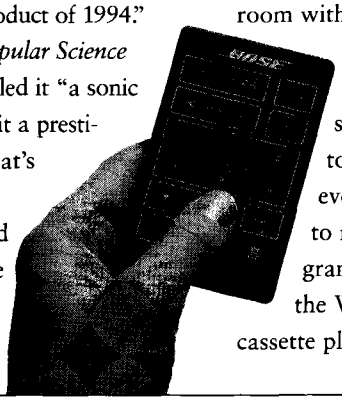
THE BEST-SOUNDING RADIO YOU CAN BUY.

We think the Wave radio is the best-sounding radio you can buy. And audio critics agree.

The speakers in conventional radios cannot produce lifelike bass, which is essential for great sound.

Only the Wave radio with acoustic waveguide speaker technology produces high-quality sound with full, rich bass.

Radio World called the sound "simply amazing...a genuine breakthrough in improved sound quality." *Business Week* named the Wave radio a "Best New Product of 1994." *Popular Science* called it "a sonic marvel" and gave it a prestigious "Best of What's New" award. The key is our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Just as a flute



every note the way it's *meant* to be heard. The Wave radio measures just 4.5"H × 14"W × 8"D and fits almost anywhere. So you can listen in your bedroom, living room, kitchen, or any room. And with your choice of graphite gray or imperial white, the Wave radio not only fits in any room, it fits any decor.

REMOTE-CONTROLLED CONVENIENCE.

Operate the radio from across the room with the credit card-sized remote control. Set six AM and six FM stations, and switch between them at the touch of a button. You can even bring great Bose sound to recorded music, TV programs, or movies by connecting the Wave radio to your CD or cassette player, TV, or VCR.

ORDER BY DECEMBER 31, 1997, FOR FREE SHIPPING.

CALL 1-800-681-BOSE, EXT. R6628.

When you call, ask about our six-month installment payment plan. (Available on telephone orders only.) Also ask about FedEx® delivery service.

Please specify your color choice when ordering the Wave® radio:

☐ Imperial White ☐ Graphite Gray

Mr./Mrs./Ms.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City State Zip

( )

Daytime Telephone

( )

Evening Telephone

Mail to: Bose® Corporation, Dept. CDD-R6628, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 1-800-862-BOSE (1-800-862-2673).

BOSE
Better sound through research.

©1997 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Installment payment plan and free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer. Installment payment plan available on credit card orders only. Price does not include applicable sales tax. Price and/or payment plan subject to change without notice. FedEx service marks used by permission. *Wired*, June 1994.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

behavior is key, if we ever lose the belief in free will, Western society as we know it will collapse. Our rule of law, with few exceptions, assumes free will and the accountability that flows from it.

More importantly, our Creator has endowed us with the ability to make choices, sometimes contrary to our biological urges and in defiance of the sway of our environment.

BRIAN N. MULLINS
Bristol, Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

As a layman, I must confess that my interest in the resurgence of Darwinian thinking relates more to its social and political implications than it does to any scientific expertise on my part. And in these terms, I think Francis Fukuyama's summary treatment of the subject is as clear and cogent as anything I have read.

What is interesting, though, is that Mr. Fukuyama (prudently, I think) does not trot out our genetic past to make any particular *political* case. Yes, he points out that a more informed attitude about genetics will have its social side-effects, but he does not say that an emphasis on nature rather than nurture necessarily lends itself to a neoconservative outlook any more than it does to a feminist, libertarian, or communitarian one.

His restraint is interesting precisely because it is the Right that has been more accepting of the role of biology, while the Left (for the reasons Mr. Fukuyama cites) has been until recently significantly more resistant. In so doing, the Right seems to have subtly laid claim to the scientific high ground. But does the historical fact of greater conservative acceptance mean that a genetic interpretation supports one side or the other? Here I am not convinced.

It is easy to accuse the Left of trying to reform human nature, but is not the entire enterprise of culture built on the restraint of our "natural selves"? Moreover, is it not the case that neoconservatives in particular are in the forefront of advocating restraint in a host of areas?

It can be argued that the Right's case for restraint (stay married; honor thy father) is built on solid ground and the Left's case for restraint (teach your child about sexual harassment; sex is about power) is built on utopian expectations. But is it really so easy? If a distinction can be made, I am missing it. Perhaps, in the future, COMMENTARY might address itself to what impact, if any, the resurgence in genetics is likely to have on ideas and ideologies. I suspect it is a complicated story.

JEFFREY APFEL
Barrington, Rhode Island

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA writes:

Thomas Fitzgerald is disappointed that I did not write a different article, one about the social consequences of genetic mapping. While issues like genetic testing and abortion are serious, my interest was never in biology *per se*, but in biology's relationship to the social sciences. However "clichéd" my citations are, and however misinformed he thinks I am about the exclusion of biology from the social sciences, the extent to which nonbiological explanations of human behavior persist remains striking. A recent, highly-regarded work on criminology, for example, continues to assert that boys are more likely to commit crimes than girls because they are everywhere "socialized" to be more aggressive.

David Murrray's clarifications about Emile Durkheim are well taken, as are his general comments about the growing irrelevance of dichotomies like nature/nurture or innate/learned. Since the same genetic facts apply uniformly to individuals across time, differences among groups or changes in group behavior over time are likely, as Durkheim pointed out, to be caused by social factors. On the other hand, when the loosening of constraints on sexual behavior of the sort that has occurred over the last 40 years produces very different effects in men than in women (i.e., a much more marked decrease in parental responsibility in the former than in the latter), one suspects that a genetically based behavior is reasserting itself after having long been socially suppressed.

Mr. Murray is also correct in stating (as I did in my article) that the new biology grounds certain kinds of altruism and social behavior in the genes, and generally lends support to Aristotle's contention that man is a political animal. Over the past generation, economists have spent a lot of time trying to show that reciprocity—the returning of a favor for a favor and a harm for a harm—arises out of the repeated interactions of selfish but rational individuals. They need not have bothered: it appears that reciprocity is not "learned" over and over again by each generation but is, rather, carried in our gene pool.

Felix Friedberg is certainly right that no self-respecting biologist would ever argue that genes *determine* behavior. But it is precisely the desire to avoid personal responsibility that makes it likely that the courts, the legal system, and people in general are going to use the findings of the new biological research to exculpate themselves in situations where they can show genetic predispositions to, or biological sources for, certain kinds of behavior. Some in the medical profession have already demonstrated their willingness to label as "syndromes" a wide range of behaviors that used to be regarded as matters of character. We have, for example, recently seen arguments over whether children with "attention-deficit syndrome" should be categorized as disabled and entitled to Supplemental Security Income benefits. I can only assume that more attempts to use biology to explain away free choice lie in store for us.

Sheldon Rahn and Richard Shur are both concerned that I dismissed Freud and the clinical traditions derived from his work too readily in favor of a pharmacological approach to therapy. Mr. Rahn is correct that somatic responses often have psychological origins, as is Mr. Shur that Freud began his career as a neurologist and never neglected psychology's biological grounding. But as a matter of intellectual history, it is nonetheless striking that a thinker who was regarded 50 years ago as one of the most profound analysts of the human condition has proved to be so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUILD A 20 YEAR TRUST FOR SOMEONE YOU LOVE.
(AND BUILD A HOME FOR THE ELDERLY)

FUND YOUR RETIREMENT.
(WHILE FUNDING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS)

SAVE FOR A CHILD'S COLLEGE EDUCATION.
(AND SAVE LIVES BY SUPPORTING MEDICAL RESEARCH)

EMOTIONAL INVESTMENTS.

At IHF, you can put your money to work for you, your family and friends as well as humanity.

HELP SAVE HUMANITY.

When you give a gift to IHF, you are helping to support medical research, build schools, hospitals, homes for children, the elderly, and much more. You get to choose exactly where your contribution will go. And how your name will live on – from one generation to the next.

HELP SAVE FOR YOURSELF, YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS.

There are many different financial vehicles and funds at IHF. Each one designed to help you in different ways. Some help you save for your retirement. Others give a gift to someone you love for the next 20 years. Still others help fund a child's future college education. But each one lets you contribute to the welfare of humanity. What better way to save!

HELP SAVE ON TAXES.

Another added benefit– there are tax advantages for each gift. You can defer taxes, avoid capital gains tax, estate tax and even get tax deductions. Find out exactly how you can improve your financial picture while helping to improve the world.

For information, please contact: Robert B. Levy at 1-800 443-4256.

YES, PLEASE SEND ME MORE INFORMATION ON HOW I CAN HELP HUMANITY AND SAVE ON TAXES WITH AN IHF TRUST OR ANNUITY.
MY AGE IS_____

NAME:_____

ADDRESS:_____

CITY:_____ STATE:_____ ZIP:_____

PHONE:_____

Com1297

ISRAEL HISTADRUT FOUNDATION INC.

GIFTS THAT GIVE BACK

ISRAEL HISTADRUT FOUNDATION, INC., 276 FIFTH AVE., NY, NY 10001

AMAL FUND • MISHAN FUND • ISRAEL HUMANITARIAN FUND • ISRAEL HEALTHCARE FUND • PHILANTHROPY & EDUCATION FUND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wrong in so many of his basic theories.

Arnold L. Flick's argument, as I understand it, is that human nature is essentially selfish, and that social policy ought to take account of the fact that selfishness can be overcome by social conditioning only to a limited extent. It seems to me we do this already: the selfishness of individuals (and hence the primacy of their "rights") is an underlying premise of both modern liberal economics and politics. The basic truth of this proposition explains the enormous success of free societies and market economies in recent generations. Once you go beyond generalities like this, however, the precise boundaries between selfish and social behavior prove to be quite variable among societies sharing the same liberal assumptions. For example, as Tocqueville pointed out, the willingness of Americans to cooperate with one another is very different from the behavior of Frenchmen in similar situations, for reasons that have nothing to do with biology.

I appreciate the supportive comments of Armin Sommer and Brian N. Mullins. Lionel Tiger's *Women in the Kibbutz* (1975) documents in fascinating detail the way in which ideologically-determined sexual roles gave way over time to more traditional ones in the kibbutz. Tiger takes this as an indication of the biological basis of sexual roles.

The Left is today associated with causes like feminism, an important branch of which asserts that any social differentiation between men and women is *ipso facto* a sign of discrimination against the latter. Contrary to Jeffrey Apfel, I do not see how many of the findings of the new biology can be anything but supportive of a more traditional view of social relations that says that sexual roles are grounded (though not wholly determined) by the different natures of men and women.

It is true, as Mr. Apfel suggests, that the feminists who want to "take back the night" through stronger penalties for rapists and pornographers and conservatives who want to protect traditional families have ended up with similar agendas. The former, however, have tended to place much stronger emphasis on formal law and hence on the state as the maker and enforcer of norms, while the latter have stressed informal mechanisms like religion and culture.

Women in the Military

TO THE EDITOR:

Walter A. McDougall's article, "Sex, Lies, and Infantry" [September], is the most recent example of a disturbing tendency on the part of conservatives to join feminists in demeaning military men. Both conservatives and feminists are now exploiting the sexual-harassment scandal at the Aberdeen Proving Ground to promote a view of the military as a den of ubiquitous sexual misconduct and

NOW REACHING OVER 19 MILLION HOMES NATIONWIDE!
AND BROADCASTING IN 8 FOREIGN COUNTRIES
CELEBRATING 16 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

TELEVISION
▪ SUNDAYS 8:30-9:30 AM (EST)
THE INTERNATIONAL CHANNEL
Galaxy 7, Transponder 24
(Partial Listing)
LIBERTY CABLE OF MANHATTAN
BROOKLYN & BRONX CABLEVISION CH59
BROOKLYN QUEENS CABLE CH 65
GREATER MEDIA OF PHILADELPHIA CH 68
COMCAST CABLE OF PHILADELPHIA CH. 67
TCI CABLE OF PITTSBURGH CH 34 / 36
BOSTON/BROOKLINE CABLEVISION CH 31A
CABLE TV OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CH 51
TCI OF BALTIMORE CH 62
COMCAST CABLE OF BALTIMORE CH 73
CENTURY SOUTHWEST OF LOS ANGELES CH 72

▪ SUNDAYS 3-4 PM (EST)
TIME WARNER MANHATTAN CH 35

▪ SUNDAYS 8:30-9:30 PM (EST)
JFTV OF MIAMI, FLA.

▪ SUNDAYS MIDNIGHT-1AM (PT)
NEW INSPIRATIONAL NETWORK
Satellite Galaxy 1, Transponder 17

▪ THURSDAYS 10-11 PM (EST)
TKR OF ROCKLAND CH 28

OTHER TCN PROGRAMS
Sundays On The International Channel
8:00 - 8:30 AM (EST) | DVAR SHOW
8:30 - 9:30 AM (EST) | TALKLINE WITH ZEV BRENNER
9:30-10:00 AM (EST) | A CABLE TO JEWISH LIFE
Check your local cable guide for national listing of Talkline on the International Channel and the New Inspirational Network.

TALKLINE
WITH ZEV BRENNER

AMERICA'S NUMBER ONE JEWISH PROGRAM
Airs Saturday
11:30 PM - 2 AM
Metro N.Y.
Area Radio

TALKLINE COMMUNICATION NETWORK
TCN
P.O. BOX 20108
PARK WEST STATION
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10025
(212) 769-1925
OUT OF N.Y.: 1-800-628-TALK
Fax: (212) 799-4195
e-mail: TCNTALK@AOL.COM

RADIO:
▪ SATURDAYS 11:30 PM - 2 AM (EST)
METRO N.Y. AREA - WMCA 570 AM
& ON TELESTAR 405 SATELLITE,
TRANSPONDER 6, 7.5 MEGH

▪ SAT. NITE/SUN. MORN. 1-2 AM (EST)
MIAMI BEACH & WEST PALM BEACH
WAXY 790 AM

▪ SATURDAY NIGHTS MIDNIGHT-2AM
ON 81 STATIONS NATIONWIDE ON
THE UNITED BROADCASTING NETWORK
SATELLITE SATCOM C-1, TRANSPONDER 2, 7.5 MHz
SATELLITE SATCOM C-5, TRANSPONDER 3, 74 MHz SCPC
SATELLITE GALAXY 6, TRANSPONDER 3, 74.9 MHz SCPC

ALL JEWISH ALL NIGHT...
SATURDAY NIGHTS 9 PM - 6 AM
TALKLINE COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK
PROGRAMS ON WMCA
& ON TELESTAR 402 SATELLITE, TRANSPONDER 6, 7.5 MHz
IN MIAMI ON WAXY 790 AM SAT. NITE 1-6 AM

9:00 - 9:30 PM	COUNTRY YOSSI
9:30 - 10:00 PM	MOSHIACH IN THE AIR
10:00 - 10:30 PM	TANYA
10:30 - 11:00 PM	JEWISH MUSIC
11:00 - 11:30 PM	VIEWS ON THE NEWS
11:30 - 2:00 AM	TALKLINE WITH ZEV BRENNER AMERICA'S #1 JEWISH PROGRAM
2:00 - 3:00 AM	YAAKOV SPIVAK
3:00 - 3:30 AM	MELAVE MALKEH W/ASHER SCHARF
3:30 - 4:30 AM	DOV SHURIN LIVE FROM ISRAEL
4:30 - 5:00 AM	TOP 10 JEWISH MUSIC COUNTDOWN
5:00 - 5:30 AM	MYSTICAL INSIGHTS
5:30 - 6:00 AM	DVAR SHOW

NEW LIVE ON THE INTERNET!
SATURDAY NIGHTS 9PM-6AM
www.talkline.virtual.co.il

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seething animosity toward women. Mr. McDougall, for example, portrays "grizzled sergeants" as irresistibly tempted to abuse their authority when charged with training "nineteen-year-old girls." He even acknowledges his basic agreement with Linda Bird Francke's depiction—or, more accurately, caricature—in her book, *Ground Zero*, of the military as an institution that fosters a culture of hostility toward women.

Bashing military men has become the common sport of feminists and conservatives alike because this activity so conveniently advances everyone's particular political agenda. The spectacle of the sexually menacing military man is used by liberal feminists to press for opening more combat positions to women, by conservatives to urge rolling back the participation of women in the military, and by radical feminists to assail the dominant "masculinist culture." Consequently, a distorted and unjust image of military men has become pervasive.

There is no good reason to suppose that military men are more sexually aggressive than, say, lawyers or accountants. Is the male-professor/female-student relationship less fraught with temptations to abuse power than the male-sergeant/female-junior-enlisted relationship? I strongly suspect that the opposite is in fact the case. A less ideologically-driven examination of the armed forces might even reveal that, aberrations like the scandal at Aberdeen notwithstanding, gender relations are more equitable and amicable in the military than in many other institutions.

As a young woman I served in the U.S. Army for three years during the 1970's. I worked with and took orders from innumerable "grizzled sergeants." In contrast to the prevailing view of these men as sexual predators, which Mr. McDougall sees fit to reinforce, I remember them as some of the most decent and dignified human beings I have had the privilege to know.

REGINA F. TITUNIK
University of Hawaii
Hilo, Hawaii

TO THE EDITOR:

Walter A. McDougall deplores the fact that the military he loved has changed, in his view, for the worse. I feel for him. Lots has gone to hell in a handbasket since I was a girl. But times change. That's life. Which does not excuse Mr. McDougall's blaming "feminists" or "feminism" for unfortunate conditions in our military.

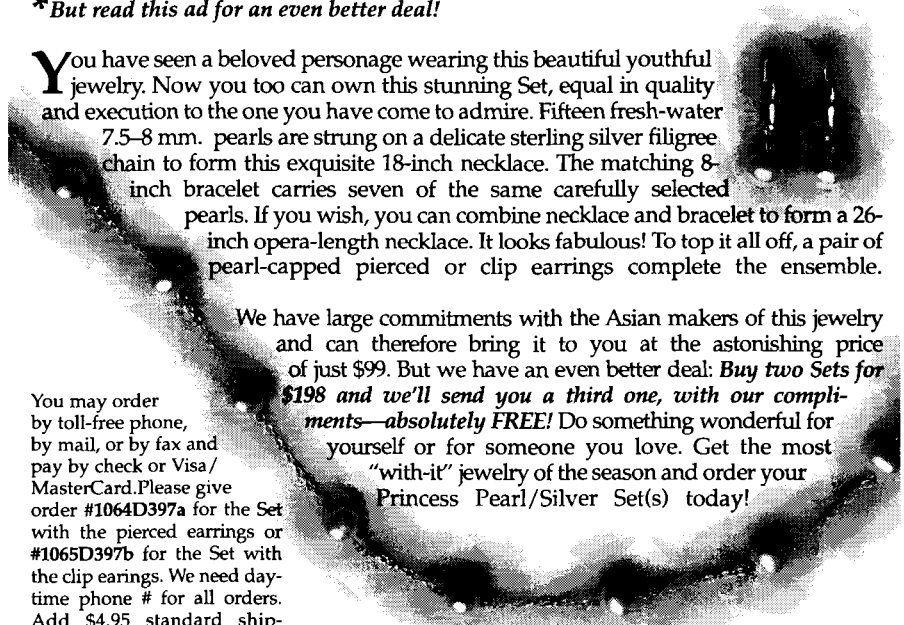
Today, the need for hand-to-hand combat is on the wane and the most effective weapons are complex and technical. Such weapons require skilled button-pushing, which can be done by women as well as by men, as Mr. McDougall would discover in any laboratory. No one claims that *all* women are qualified for *all* tasks any more than *all* men are. As I recall, in World War II and the Korean war many men were given certain jobs because their physiques disqualified them from others.

The discussion of pregnancy, harassment, etc. is disingenuous. Mr. McDougall would have us believe that before women ruined the military, clean-cut American boys enlisted virginal and chaste, and returned the same way; that married soldiers remained faithful to their wives. The truth is, and always has been, that prostitution flourished around military bases; that when the fleet was in town, prostitutes worked overtime; that military men brought venereal diseases home to faithful wives, not to mention the fact that homosexual incidents, consensual or not, were as common in the mil-

The most "with-it" jewelry of this season...

Princess Pearl/Silver Set only $99*

But read this ad for an even better deal!



You have seen a beloved personage wearing this beautiful youthful jewelry. Now you too can own this stunning Set, equal in quality and execution to the one you have come to admire. Fifteen fresh-water 7.5–8 mm. pearls are strung on a delicate sterling silver filigree chain to form this exquisite 18-inch necklace. The matching 8-inch bracelet carries seven of the same carefully selected pearls. If you wish, you can combine necklace and bracelet to form a 26-inch opera-length necklace. It looks fabulous! To top it all off, a pair of pearl-capped pierced or clip earrings complete the ensemble.

We have large commitments with the Asian makers of this jewelry and can therefore bring it to you at the astonishing price of just $99. But we have an even better deal: ***Buy two Sets for $198 and we'll send you a third one, with our compliments—absolutely FREE!*** Do something wonderful for yourself or for someone you love. Get the most "with-it" jewelry of the season and order your Princess Pearl/Silver Set(s) today!

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or Visa/MasterCard. Please give order **#1064D397a** for the Set with the pierced earrings or **#1065D397b** for the Set with the clip earings. We need daytime phone # for all orders. Add $4.95 standard shipping/insurance charge (plus sales tax for California delivery). You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

For customer service, please call (415) 543-6675. For wholesale orders, call Chris Simpson at the same number.

since 1967
haverhills®
185 Berry St., San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 797-7367 or by fax: (415) 546-7808

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itary as in prisons or boys' schools.

Problems related to sexuality in the military may have changed, but they are not new. What is new is their being discussed, not hushed-up in the name of "morale." Mr. McDougall seems bothered not by disruptive sexual behavior in the military, but by the fact that it is taking place "in-house," as if it were all right when it played itself out on the civilian population. When he cites the figures for soldiers discharged because of pregnancy, why not cite figures for soldiers (past or present) dismissed for venereal disease? And am I wrong that more male soldiers have to be dismissed for drug and alcohol abuse than females for pregnancy? As to those drill sergeants who abused young recruits, these miserable men probably savaged male recruits as well, though perhaps in a different way.

Mr. McDougall says, first, that women enlist because they want good pay, schooling, and government benefits. In a peacetime army that is what happens. Does he really think men enlist because they yearn to be maimed or to die in battle? Then he says that "for reasons which it is considered bad form to question," some women "want to storm beaches . . . or bomb Baghdad." Well, what *are* the reasons of these women who should be Mr. McDougall's dream girls? That they come from Cleveland? That they are young professors denied tenure? They seem exactly the right people for the job; the military should be gung-ho to recruit more like 'em! As to the problem of women—possibly mothers—dying in combat: ha! This, in a country where 4,000 women, many of them young mothers, die yearly from domestic violence? Get a grip.

The notion that "nature has placed upon the shoulders of men" the warrior role is simply bizarre. In nature, females are as aggressive and diligent killers as males. In some species it is the female who hunts and kills for the pack. It is men *qua* men who have chosen—admittedly over millennia—to kill each other in war. War *qua* war is a human—Mr. McDougall would have it a male—invention. And just as many men cannot distinguish between sexual desire and rape, so it is a male—not a human, not a natural—notion that equates aggressiveness and bodily strength with war and violence. All animals are aggressive and physically assertive from birth; it is culture that channels the aggressiveness in humans.

C. PARENS
New York City

TO THE EDITOR:

Walter A. McDougall's opposition to the presence of women in the armed forces is really quite misguided. If the effectiveness of the armed forces is imperiled by male overprotectiveness or male resentment of female recruits, the answer is clear: return male soldiers to civilian life and establish an all-female military.

JENNIFER L. GREEN
Emory, Virginia

TO THE EDITOR:

Walter A. McDougall does a creditable job discussing the impact of women on the American military. The goal of feminists and their political allies in Congress and the bureaucracy is to transform the armed forces into a coeducational institution whose main purpose is to offer travel, education, job opportunities, and self-fulfillment to everyone. Any student of warfare knows that the only reason for the existence of an army, navy, and air force is to win wars by killing as many of the enemy as possible.

Men are attracted to the military life because it requires aggression, ruthlessness, intense physical competition, challenge, and camaraderie that are virtually unknown in civilian life. President Clinton's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Barbara Pope, and those who think like her, are clearly determined to destroy the unique male military culture that has served this country so well in the past. As Mr. McDougall quotes her as saying, "We are in the process of weeding out the white male as norm. We're about changing the culture."

Pregnancy is now one of the most serious and unmentionable problems faced by our armed forces (several naval vessels have been dubbed "love boats"). As Mr. McDougall points out, standards have been lowered in the service academies and throughout the armed forces with predictable effect on morale and military effectiveness. It is a career-ending exercise for any military officer to speak the obvious truth about what is happening. It is testimony to the present state of our society and culture that American men are now willing to let their wives, sisters, daughters, even those who are mothers with infants and small children, fight, be wounded, killed, taken prisoner, and sexually abused—all of which happened in the Gulf war.

Any future wars against formidable enemies like the Germans and Japanese in World War II or the North Korean and Vietnamese Communists would put a quick end to this social experimentation, but not until a terrible price had been paid in American lives. Before that happens, it is to be hoped that fearless, patriotic men and women in Congress and in the armed forces will speak the truth about a national tragedy in the making.

GEORGE E. RUBIN
Bronx, New York

WALTER A. MCDOUGALL writes:

The first two letters ascribe to me positions so far removed from those I recalled taking that I had to reread my article to regain my composure. Happily, I discovered that, indeed, I wrote what I had meant to write; unhappily, I had to conclude that the issue of women in combat is seen through such ideological blinders as to obscure any hope of rational discussion.

For instance, Regina F. Titunik accuses me of joining the feminists in "demeaning military men," albeit to argue for an all-male military. I did criticize "the brass" for not acknowledging the damage done to military standards, morale, discipline, and preparedness by the mixing of the sexes in frontline units. But I made clear that my target was not the officers themselves but the Orwellian political environment that forbids men to witness to the truth. Likewise, I deplore the sexual harassment that has oc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Investor's Business Daily

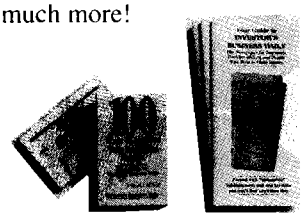
TRY 10 ISSUES...FREE
PLUS 2 FREE GIFTS!!

Keeps You Up On All The Crucial Facts...

One of the most important things you've learned is how vital it is to keep up with current information. That's why we want you to try Investor's Business Daily **FREE for 2 weeks**, no strings attached... to prove to you that it will keep you better informed in the world of business and investing. *Plus you'll also receive 2 valuable **FREE** gifts:*

"100 Ways To Improve Your Investment Results"

...a 60-minute audio cassette featuring Investor's Business Daily's Founder and Chairman William O'Neil. This tape gives you tips that could help you improve your investment results. You'll also learn how Investor's Business Daily helps you spot and track the "real" growth opportunities in the market...in stocks, mutual funds, options, futures and much more!



"Your Guide To Investor's Business Daily"

This booklet shows you how to find new investment ideas from the unique data available in Investor's Business Daily.

Daily Features:

- ***EXECUTIVE NEWS SUMMARY***

Right on the front page, get a quick glimpse of the day's business news so you'll be informed on the latest in the world of business and how it could affect your investments and decisions.

- ***THE NEW AMERICA***

Read about most of the country's fastest growing, innovative, new companies. Learn who tomorrow's business leaders could be...today.

- ***THE ECONOMY***

Investor's Business Daily's second section front page gives you all the latest economic news from the government and around the world so you're never left out.

- ***INVESTOR'S CORNER***

As an investor, it's always important to keep learning, to educate yourself. In this feature, you'll learn some of the keys to improving your investment skills, and you'll see vital investment variables and techniques explained.

The Most Detailed Financial Information Available...

Read the information for which Investor's Business Daily is best known. Our smart stock tables give you each stock's Relative Price Strength, Earnings Per Share Growth Rank, P/E Ratio, Industry Group Strength, Accumulation/ Distribution Rating, Volume Percent Change...and much more. These tables help you make more informed decisions. And our mutual fund and futures coverage provides you with just what you need.

Saving You Time...

In only minutes of reading time each day, Investor's Business Daily will update you on all of the important business news you'll want to know...from Washington, Wall Street and across the major capitals of the world. Accurately. Concisely.

"Vital News You Can Use Every Business Day"

☑ **YES,** please sign me up for **TWO FREE WEEKS** of Investor's Business Daily. I understand that I will receive a **FREE** audio tape and booklet.

Ship To: ❑ Residence ❑ Business

Name _____ (Last) _____ (First)

Address _____ Apt./Ste. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime Phone (_____) _____

Business Phone (_____) _____

Company _____

Title _____

Mail to: Investor's Business Daily, P.O. Box 66370, Los Angeles, CA 90066-0370

Subscribers within the last 4 months not eligible. This offer is good in the U.S.A. only. JBXD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

curred in coeducational training units. But my purpose was to expose the stupidity of placing "grizzled sergeants" in the way of temptation, not to impugn the honor of all noncommissioned officers. And far from affirming Linda Bird Francke's depiction of the military as an institution that fosters a "culture of hostility," I considered her book "petulant and haranguing," her style an unrelieved polemic, and her evidence anecdotal at best. The point I attempted to make was that recent incidents of sexual harassment, far from being the natural product of a macho military mindset, are unnatural products of the utopian integration of the sexes demanded by those like Francke.

Regina Titunik then asks rhetorically whether "the male-professor/female-student relationship is less fraught with temptations" than the military one. The answer to that is yes, because teachers and students do not march, sweat, bathe, bunk down, and share their innermost fears about battle together. What is more, male professors today live in a climate in which merely sharing a cup of coffee with a female student might lead to false accusations. I shudder to think what such a climate of fear might produce in the military, where not only the education but the lives of men (and women) depend on mutual trust.

C. Parens misconstrues my article in the opposite way, in order to argue that military men behave like belligerent brutes toward women as well as toward the enemy. She begins by suggesting that "Mr. McDougall deplores the fact that the military he loved has changed." Nowhere in my essay did I even hint at this. The fact is, I could not wait to get out of the Army; what I "deplored" was the demoralization, drugs, insubordination, defeatism, and careerism that characterized the U.S. Army of 1969. The Army, to its credit, has changed since then, and significantly for the better. But I fear that all the progress made in the military since Vietnam is now being threatened by feminization.

C. Parens then restates the old saw about how war has changed and women are just as able to "push a button" as men. Of course they are, but let us not stop there. Let us also grant that some women are physically more fitted for "hand to hand combat" than some men (including myself). That is not the point. The point is whether we are to impose full sexual integration on the military, with all the ancillary friction that entails, so that a small number of tomboys can play on the varsity. Military preparedness and combat efficiency are determined at least as much by psychological as by physical factors.

The most egregious example of putting words in my mouth, however, is the claim that "Mr. McDougall would have us believe that before women ruined the military, clean-cut American boys enlisted virginal and chaste. . . ." Ha! That is hardly the Army I recall, and nowhere in my essay do I hint that it was. But yes, I do think that sex in the ranks is a far more dangerous phenomenon than the frequenting of prostitutes, because it undermines good order and discipline. And I think C. Parens begs the question in arguing that servicewomen lose less time to pregnancies than males to drug and alcohol problems. Are we to introduce yet another social cancer into our military simply because other malignancies already exist?

C. Parens ends by embracing the feminist dogma which holds that the female of the species is as aggressive and diligent a killer as the male, but that the patriarchal culture is what channels aggression into rapine and war. Hence she is prepared to believe that "those drill sergeants who abused [female] recruits . . . probably savaged male recruits as well"—so much for Regina Titunik's "decent and dignified" drill sergeants. She also scoffs at those who would shrink from sending mothers to war when "4,000 women" die each year from domestic violence. That logical leap leaves me breathless. Because women are killed at home, they might as well be killed abroad? Can we not say instead that women ought not to die violent deaths at home or abroad—or would that too be sexist?

At present, no reconciliation is possible between the need for military effectiveness and the claim of equal opportunity unless, as in Jennifer L. Green's letter, we take the psychosexual political dynamic at work in the Clinton Defense Department to its *ultima ratio*—and establish an all-female Amazon corps.

Finally, let me thank George E. Rubin for his approbation. I fear, however, that the fact of his gender will render his opinion as nugatory as mine.

Welfare Reform

TO THE EDITOR:

Daniel Casse's excellent article, "Why Welfare Reform Is Working" [September], demonstrates the blinding power of liberal ideology. By any measure, the (conservative) 1996 welfare-reform bill has been a tremendous early success. Even NBC's Gwen Ifill had to admit this. In a recent report she said: "The homeless shelters were supposed to be overwhelmed, the soup kitchens overflowing. But that nightmare hasn't materialized, so far."

The guardians of contemporary liberalism heaped scorn on those who argued that the old welfare system contributed to human misery. Advocates of "tough-love" reforms were on the receiving end of poisonous invective. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala charged in 1994 that the welfare reforms advocated by the organization for which I work, Empower America, were "un-American," and predicted that they would bring back the orphanages of the 19th century. She described our plan as a contemporary version of Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal," which argued that the best way to deal with food shortages and overpopulation was to eat the children of the poor.

Now that we have moved from the realm of speculation to the realm of reality, what has been the response from liberals? Almost without exception, they resolutely refuse to be encouraged by the fact that things have improved; refuse to concede that the conservative critique of welfare was right; and refuse to admit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition

(Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Moses, Jesus, Marcus Aurelius, Augustine, Aquinas, More, Machiavelli, Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, Newton, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Smith, Rousseau, Kant, Burke, Montesquieu, Hegel, Marx, Mill, Kierkegaard, Darwin, Freud, Nietzsche, James, Ayers, Quine, Wittgenstein, Weber, Habermas, Kuhn, Rorty, Foucault, Rawls, Levi-Strauss, etc.)

...taught by 6 widely acclaimed lecture professors on audio and video cassettes

Darren Staloff, Ph.D.
City College of New York

Michael Sugrue, Ph.D.
Princeton University

Dennis Dalton, Ph.D.
Barnard College/Columbia Univ.

Alan Charles Kors, Ph.D.
University of Pennsylvania

THE SUPERSTAR FACULTY ALSO INCLUDES:
Robert Oden, Ph.D., President, Kenyon College
Elizabeth McNamer, Ph.D., Rocky Mountain College

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF LIFE? What is the best *kind* of life? Who or what is God? What is the essence of justice? When is it legitimate for one person to have power over others? Can any of these questions be answered?

These are basic riddles of human experience that thoughtful men and women have pondered since the dawn of civilization.

You too must have asked yourself questions like these many times. And perhaps you once vowed that some day you would plow through *all* the great thinkers of the Western world and find your own answers.

But you know you never will. Frankly, it would require a minimum of several years of withdrawal from active life, and devotion to intense effort and concentration.

Now, at last, here is a feasible way to enjoy *the intellectual adventure of a lifetime.* A way you can comfortably grasp the *essence* and *consequence* of each thinker's greatness, in leisure moments in your home or car.

That is the extraordinary opportunity now offered by this unprecedented audio-video lecture series—*The Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition.*

The series is composed of 70 lectures, covering more than 40 of the great minds of the Western world. Each lecture is accompanied by an outline and reading list as an aid to mastering and further exploring the subject.

Over half of the lectures are delivered by Professors Darren Staloff and Michael Sugrue, who for several years electrified students at Columbia University with their sweeping canvas of Western intellectual development. To round out the series, there are guest lecturers from the growing Teaching Company treasury of audio and video recordings of America's SuperStar Teachers.

The result is a definitive survey of Western thought by an all-star teaching team with no equal in lecturing skill at any single college campus anywhere else in the world.

With these video or audio recordings of six of America's most widely acclaimed college lecture professors as your guides, you can now follow down through the centuries of mankind's great debate over the meaning of life, and how the ideas put forth shaped and developed our Western civilization of today.

Just listening to these lectures—whether you decide to supplement them by browsing through the texts of the works discussed or not—will give you a grasp of the intellectual history of the Western world possessed by as few as one out of every thousand Americans.

To order, mail coupon or call

1-800-TEACH-12

(1-800-832-2412)

please refer to ***Offer Code 5146***
or FAX 703-912-7756

Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee!

THE CURRICULUM

PART I: Ancient Philosophy and Faith: From Athens to Jerusalem
Introduction to the Problems & Scope of Philosophy; The Old Testament; The Gospels of Mark & Matthew; Paul: His World; Presocratics: Ionian Speculation & Eliatic Metaphysics; Republic I: Justice, Power & Knowledge; Republic II-V: Soul & City; Republic VI-X: The Architecture of Reality; Aristotle's Metaphysical Views; Aristotle's Politics: The Golden Mean & Just Rule; Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*: The Stoic Ideal; Augustine's *City of God*: Grace, Original Sin & Theodicy
Course No. 401. Audio or Video

PART II: The Age of Faith to The Age of Reason
Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*: The Thomist Synthesis & Its Political & Social Content; More's *Utopia*: Reason & Social Justice; Machiavelli's *The Prince*: Political Realism, Political Science & the Renaissance; Bacon's *New Organon*: The Call for a New Science; Descartes' Epistemology & the Mind-Body Problem; Hobbes' *Leviathan: Of Man*; Hobbes' *Leviathan: Of the Commonwealth*; Spinoza's Ethics: Metaphysics & the Path to Salvation; The Newtonian Revolution; The Early Enlightenment & the Search for the Laws of History: Vico's *New Science of History*; Pascal's *Pensees*; The Philosophy of G.W. Liebniz
Course No. 402. Audio or Video

PART III: The Enlightenment and Its Critics
Locke's Theory of Knowledge; Locke's Political Theory; Montesquieu & the Beginnings of Political Science; Berkeley's Idealism & the Critique of Materialism; Hume's Epistemology; Hume's Theory of Morality; Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; Rousseau's Dissent: The Challenge to the Idea of Progress; Kant's "Copernican Revolution": Epistemology & the Critique of Metaphysics; Kant's Moral Philosophy; Burke & the Birth of Enlightened Conservatism; Naturalism & Materialism: The Boundaries of the Enlightenment
Course No. 403. Audio or Video

PART IV: Philosophy in the Epoch of Ideology
Comte & the Origins of Sociology; Hegel: The Phenomenology of Geist; Hegel's Philosophy of History; Marx & the Problem of Alienation & Ideology; Marx's Historical Materialism; Kierkegaard's Christian Existentialism; Schopenhauer: The World as Will & Idea; The Classical Doctrine of Liberal Democracy: John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* & *Utilitarianism*; The Darwinian Revolution in Social Thought: William Graham Sumner; Weber's Historical Sociology; Freud & Philosophy
Course No. 404. Audio or Video

PART V: Modernism and the Age of Analysis: Beginnings
Nietzsche's Critique of Christianity: The Genealogy of Morals; Nietzsche's Perspectivalism & Critique of Philosophy; James' Pragmatism; Gadamer: Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences; Bergson's Elan Vital & Vitalism; John Dewey's *Reconstruction in Philosophy*: The Pragmatic Critique of Traditional Philosophy; Levi-Strauss: Structuralist Anthropology; Husserl: Phenomenology & the Life-World; Heidegger: Being & Time; A. J. Ayer's Language, Truth & Logic; The Latter Wittgenstein: The Philosophy of Language; The Frankfurt School
Course No. 405. Audio or Video

PART VI: Modernism and the Age of Analysis: Conclusions
Kuhn's Paradigm Paradigm; Habermas' Critical Theory; Barthes, Semiotics & the Revolt Against Structuralism; Social Justice & Social Democracy in Contemporary Times: *A Theory of Justice* by John Rawls; Alvin Gouldner's *Dark Side of the Dialectic*: Social Theory; Renegade Sociology & Outlaw Marxism; Foucalt: Power, Knowledge & Post-Structuralism; Quine's Ontological Relativism & the End of "Philosophy"; Rorty's Neo-Pragmatism; Jean-Francois Lyotard: the Post-Modern Condition; Conclusion: The Theory of Knowledge & Language; Conclusion: Political, Social & Cultural Criticism & Theory
Course No. 406. Audio or Video

[illegible] ON SALE! $100 OFF ENTIRE COURSE

The Teaching Company®
7405 Alban Station Court, Suite A107
Springfield, VA 22150-2318
Offer Code 5146

Please send me the following parts from ***Great Minds,*** each consisting of 11-12, 45-minute lectures on audio or video cassettes in handsome storage cases.

☐ ALL SIX ☐ Part I ☐ Part II ☐ Part III
☐ Part IV ☐ Part V ☐ Part VI
(please check desired format)

☐ Audio*: **SALE**—Entire six-part course, $249.95 (reg. price $349.95) plus $20 S&H. One part, $89.95 plus $5 ea. S&H.

☐ Video*: Entire six-part course, $549.95 plus $20 S&H. One part, $149.95 plus $5 ea. S&H.

***Note: Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.**

☐ Check or Money Order enclosed
☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

ACCOUNT NUMBER

SIGNATURE EXP. DATE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

☐ **Please send me a free copy of your complete catalog of over 60 courses (no purchase necessary)**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that their apocalyptic warnings were wrong. Facts can sometimes be inconvenient things, and overwhelming facts can sometimes be terribly inconvenient. One almost gets the sense that in order to validate their ideology, some in the liberal ranks *want* reform to fail, *want* homeless shelters to fill up. Gwen Ifill, for example, felt compelled to end her report by adding, "For all the good news about welfare reform, everyone knows that somewhere, someone is falling through the cracks."

Even as the new welfare reforms prove to be demonstrably more humane than the previous system, the hermetically sealed liberal mind still defends its ideology at all costs. That is sad. It is also illuminating. And it may go a long way toward exploding the myth that liberals are more "compassionate" than the rest of us. Here is yet another example of the fact that when human lives collide with liberal ideology, it is human lives that suffer.

PETER H. WEHNER
Director of Policy
Empower America
McLean, Virginia

DANIEL CASSE writes:

I am grateful to Peter H. Wehner for his kind words. He is correct in predicting that, in the months ahead, every setback and misstep in state and local welfare programs will be held up by liberals and many in the media as "evidence" that welfare does not work, is underfunded, is cruel, has unintended consequences, and so on. Fortunately, such criticism will have little impact. The great success of the recent reforms is that they ended the federal welfare entitlement and shifted virtually all decision-making out of congressional hands. Whatever welfare meddling the current administration may attempt, the important changes created by the 1996 reforms would seem to be irreversible.

Race & the Law

TO THE EDITOR:

James Q. Wilson's review of Randall Kennedy's *Race, Crime, and the Law* [September] is, as usual, subtle and persuasive. As Mr. Wilson notes, Kennedy's book makes some very good points. We have, however, an important caveat concerning one issue with which Kennedy deals and where Mr. Wilson seemingly accepts his argument.

Relying on the work of David Baldus and his colleagues, Kennedy concludes that, while in certain homicide cases (those dubbed either highly aggravated or highly mitigated) the race of the victim is not significant, in other, so-called "middle-range" cases a perpetrator is more likely to receive the death penalty if the victim is white than if he is black.

This argument is not persuasive. Kennedy and, apparently, Mr. Wilson completely ignore the criticisms of Baldus's work by Joseph Katz. Katz's is not an obscure technical critique concerned with minor statistical issues. Rather, it cuts to the quick, and, if true, it seriously compromises Baldus's authority.

In 1983, in a review of the literature, the National Academy of Sciences concluded that according to the most reliable and most carefully researched studies, the link between race and sentencing in the application of the death penalty was very weak. Baldus's work was designed to overcome that conclusion. It was used to appeal the death sentence of Warren McCleskey, a black man who had shot and killed a white police officer in the course of a robbery in Georgia. To demonstrate that McCleskey was probably the victim of discrimination, Baldus developed a regression equation of 238 variables that, according to him and his colleagues, proved a pattern of discrimination in applying the death penalty in middle-range cases in Georgia. McCleskey's homicide, Baldus claimed, was just such a case.

The state called on Joseph Katz, a statistician, to review the Baldus data for the prosecution. Katz demonstrated that Baldus's complicated equation yielded only a 6-percent increase in the probability of a death sentence if the victim were white: even if the Baldus model were perfect, in other words, it did not explain much. But in addition, as Katz pointed out, Baldus made all sorts of untenable assumptions about the raw data, including assigning arbitrary values to items for which he had no information.

Furthermore, many of Baldus's findings were themselves peculiar. According to his equations, for example, the probability of a death sentence in Georgia was *raised* if the perpetrator had been coerced into committing the crime; *raised* if the perpetrator was unaware of a partner's intent to use force; *reduced* if he took a victim hostage; and *reduced* if the murder was committed in the course of a felony. Unless the citizens of Georgia had lost all their marbles, it is highly unlikely that these variables capture the reasons the state courts imposed the death penalty in some cases and not in others.

Katz also pointed out that Baldus's methodology was unreliable—as he put it, the "importance of each variable changed dramatically from formula to formula depending upon the specific combination of factors . . . included"—and he offered to produce "thousands of formulas in which the effect of the racial variables in forming the ultimate sentence [would] *disappear completely*." Katz provided several alternative regressions, using approximately 40 variables as examples, in each of which the race of the defendant and the race of the victim proved insignificant.

Finally, on the issue of whether the McCleskey homicide was a middle-range case and hence at higher risk for discrimination, Katz found that, to the contrary, it was highly aggravated, even by Baldus's categories. Randall Kennedy himself concedes that the case seems to fit the category of highly-aggravated murders, though he raises no further questions about the reliability of the Baldus study.

Based on what we have learned from our own research (see "Execution by Quota?," *Public Interest*, Summer 1994), we believe greater skepticism about Baldus's study is warranted than either Randall Kennedy or James Q. Wilson allows.

STANLEY ROTHMAN
STEPHEN POWERS
Center for the Study of Social and Political Change
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE — From *The Washington Times*
4 FREE Issues of our National Weekly Edition!

Now you can see why *The Washington Times* has become the talk of the nation! Because now you can get FOUR FREE ISSUES of *The Washington Times* NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION! It takes the best of our award-winning daily news coverage and makes it available to you every week — no matter where you live!

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

McDougal sentenced for Whitewater crimes

Says he finally became 'sick of lying' for Clinton

Beijing leaders worry about 'Polish disease'

Gingrich rips Reno decision

Study says reading Bible cuts inmates' rate of rearrest

Family values produces a winner / 23

- 'The way we were': Hollywood PAC folds / 4
- Ex-White House chef wants to grill Hillary / 8
- State Dept. changes its story on China / 19

Try it FREE!

No Risk . . . No Cost . . . No Obligation!

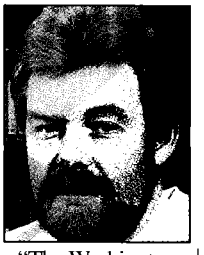
The Washington Times. It's the newspaper they're all talking about on Talk Radio, C-SPAN, and the Sunday morning talk shows. It's the one that's driving Clinton, Bonier, Boxer, Daschle, and Gephardt crazy! Why? Because it's the only daily newspaper in the nation with the courage to cover news honestly — without the liberal spin you always get in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. And now our NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION brings it all right to your door every week!

Claim your 4 FREE ISSUES of the National Weekly Edition today!

"The Washington Times is the definitive journal of the New American Revolution."
–Tom Clancy

"Even the mavens of the establishment media admit: The Washington Times gets the story first."
–Rep. Dick Armey

"If it weren't for the yeoman-like work of the Washington Times, Americans might still be believing the daily lies and distortions from the major electronic and print media."
–Dr. Walter Williams



"The Washington Times breaks the stories the liberal media refuse to touch."
–L. Brent Bozell

"The Washington Times is the first paper I reach for in the morning. . . essential reading for anyone who cares about what goes on in the world today."
–Arianna Huffington

"Living in San Francisco, I find the National Edition of the Washington Times an indispensable weekly summary of what's going on in the nation's capital."
–William A. Rusher

CALL 1-800-363-9118. (Mention Express Code: "UHJOTH")

Call today or mail in the coupon below, and order 4 weeks of The Washington Times National Edition free of charge! If you like it, you'll receive 48 more issues, for a total of 52, and pay only $59.95. If you decide not to subscribe, simply write "cancel" on your invoice and owe nothing at all. The 4 sample copies will be yours to keep!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review, James Q. Wilson writes: "Of course, the chances of an average black male assaulting or robbing anyone are very small. But they are six times higher than in the case of an average white male."

This understates the seriousness of violent racial crime committed by blacks. In 1992, according to the Justice Department, almost one million whites were murdered, robbed, assaulted, or raped by blacks. In that same year, 132,000 blacks were the victims of similar crimes committed by whites. This means that with just 12 percent of the population, blacks commit more than 50 times as many violent crimes as whites.

In view of these figures, it should not be surprising that so many ordinary citizens are fearful of young black males.

FRANK MESSMANN
SUNY-Westchester
Valhalla, New York

TO THE EDITOR:

James Q. Wilson justifies the police practice of considering race in deciding whether to question and arrest people they see on the street, on the ground that young black males are more likely to be engaged in criminal activities. He is, of course, right that the police do take race into consideration and it is entirely sensible for them to do so, even though this results in seriously unequal treatment of blacks as compared with whites.

One could take the position that, despite the logic and reasonableness of this police behavior, it is unconstitutional, and therefore should be enjoined by the courts. However, Mr. Wilson does not take this position and, regardless of my liberal tendencies, I would not take it, either. But this means that Mr. Wilson and his fellow-traveling conservatives should have to account for this "discrimination" against blacks in formulating their notion that the Constitution demands a color-blind society. As this illustration demonstrates, the Constitution demands no such social norm when there are important and rational reasons for deviating from it.

The obvious question is whether the same rule should not apply to other government agencies or institutions in society. For example, why cannot school systems consider race in deciding that diversity is an educational goal important enough to admit blacks with lower test scores than whites? The only basic difference I can see between the two examples—police discriminating against blacks in making decisions whether to arrest and colleges "discriminating" against whites in choosing students and faculty—involves the people who are being hurt. In the first case, innocent blacks are being hurt and in the second case, innocent whites. But clearly that cannot justify allowing discrimination in one situation and not the other.

Indeed, there is far more reason to permit discrimination in favor of blacks. It is blacks who were subjected to slavery and then to a long history of blatant discrimination that is still not entirely ended. It is blacks who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the Fourteenth Amendment and other post-Civil War amendments. It is blacks, as a small minority, who need the protection of the Constitution and the courts—not the white majority, which can more than adequately protect its interests in the voting booth.

The simple fact is that we are not a color-blind society and that race matters a great deal in numerous contexts and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

BRUCE J. TERRIS
Washington, D.C.

JAMES Q. WILSON writes:

Stanley Rothman and Stephen Powers correctly describe the criticisms made of David Baldus's essay on race and the death penalty. But they are mistaken in assuming that I accepted the study. I tried to say only that Randall Kennedy had approached the Baldus work with care. Beyond that I did not wish to go. If I inadvertently used a phrase that led them to think I had gone farther, I apologize.

Frank Messmann is wrong to think that blacks commit 50 times more violent crime than whites. We do not know how many whites were murdered, raped, robbed, or assaulted by blacks or how many blacks were victims of the same crimes at the hands of whites. We can guess at these numbers by using victimization surveys or inferences from data about convictions. But they are only guesses. Here are the estimates for adults that I derive from the victimization surveys, based on data from 1985 through 1988.

Rape: 10 percent of all rapists are whites who rape blacks, and 18 percent are blacks who rape whites.

Robbery: 6 percent of all robbers are whites who rob blacks, and 40 percent are blacks who rob whites.

Aggravated assault: 8 percent of all assaulters are whites who assault blacks, and 17 percent are blacks who assault whites.

Murder: there are no victim surveys for murder—the victim can't talk!

Apply these rates of interracial crime to the number of persons arrested, and you find about 22,680 whites arrested for raping, robbing, or assaulting a black and about 60,064 blacks arrested for raping, robbing, or assaulting a white. The ratio between these two numbers is about three to one. Thus, not counting homicide (which is primarily an intraracial crime), blacks are three times (not, Mr. Messmann, 50 times) as likely as whites to hurt a person of the opposite race.

Bruce J. Terris thinks that if the police can take race into account in stopping and questioning blacks, other government agencies—schools, for example—should be able to take race into account in employment and admissions policies. To him, these two cases are alike in that people are hurt by race-conscious decisions yet they differ only in race.

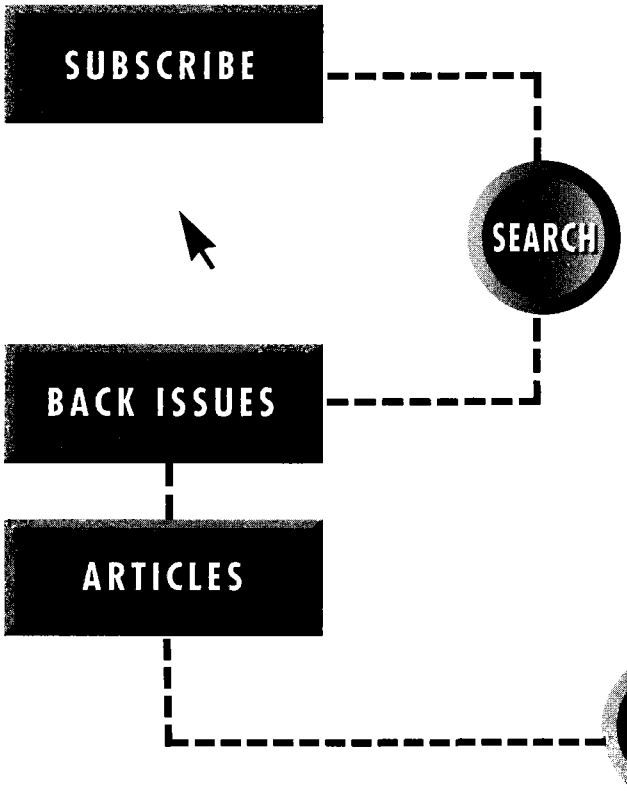
There are two responses to this argument. First, the Supreme Court has never authorized the police to use race as a basis for arresting someone, and I strongly doubt that it ever would. Similarly, the Court has refused to allow race to be used as an explicit basis for admitting students.

Second, the Supreme Court has not blocked the use of race as one among several factors that induce police to question (not arrest, just question) a person on the street. Mr. Terris

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing Commentary on the Internet.

Just type www.commmentarymagazine.com and you're there.



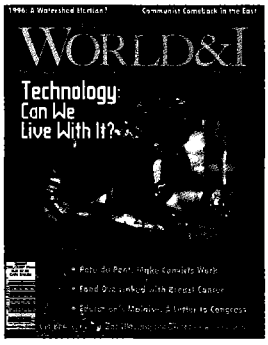
Read Commentary from a different angle. On our regularly updated website, you will find the lead article of each month's issue, plus our famous Letters section, book reviews, and new articles by editor-at-large Norman Podhoretz as they appear.

And that's not all. A fascinating history vividly describes Commentary's 50-year odyssey across America's ideological and cultural landscape. A remarkable set of tributes, unavailable elsewhere, by William J. Bennett, William F. Buckley, Jr., Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Henry Kissinger, Irving Kristol, Rupert Murdoch, Cynthia Ozick, A.M. Rosenthal, Ruth R. Wisse, James Q. Wilson, and others testifies to the importance and influence of Commentary through the years.

User-friendly search engines help you navigate the various sections of the website and check previous issues. Links to other sites provide a ringside seat at the war of ideas. And so that no one need miss a single article, or the pleasures of reading the old-fashioned way, an online subscription form makes it easier than ever to receive Commentary at home or at the office, or to have it delivered to a friend.

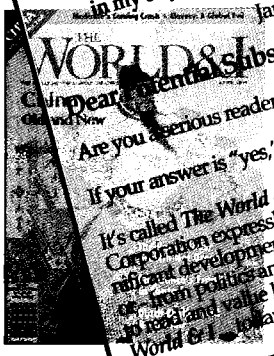
www.commentarymagazine.com

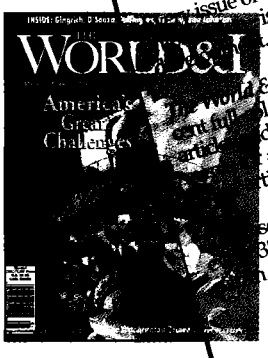
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"The World & I is the greatest magazine ever. I read it cover to cover."

Fred Turek, Great Falls, Va.





D&I

rious Readers

"The World & I publishes the most comprehensive text I have ever seen in my 66 years on this planet. No one publishes a better periodical. It's a learning tool for me."
James Krasowski, Buffalo, N.Y.

Dear Potential Subscriber:

Are you a serious reader - a reader who enjoys continuing to learn?

If your answer is "yes," then a simple yet powerful resource awaits you.

It's called *The World & I*. And it's published monthly by the Washington Times Corporation expressly for people who want to keep up-to-date on the most significant developments and trends of our time in every aspect of human endeavor - from politics and culture to scientific breakthroughs. It's for people who love to read and value learning. If this describes you, then I urge you to discover *The World & I* today!

issue of **The World & I** - filled to the brim with timely and important is a fascinating chapter in the on-going chronicle of humankind's . Quite simply, no other periodical in the world compares with it.

& I is packed with dazzling photographs and illustrations, magnifilor art reproductions ... plus page after page of fascinating in-depth d essays, many of which explore potentially life-changing developall of us, by the world's foremost scholars, authors, scientists, philosotists, and statesmen.

solutely must see for yourself to believe the quality and value packed into 350- page issue. To receive your risk-free copy of *The World & I*, just the attached coupon. We'll send you the next available issue.

Sincerely yours,

Morton A. Kaplan

Morton A. Kaplan
Editor and Publisher

Try it FREE!

No Risk ... No Cost ... No Obligation!

EACH MONTH THE WORLD & I OFFERS:

CURRENT ISSUES — You'll stay up-to-date on national and world events through special in-depth reports, analyses, and provocative commentaries.

THE ARTS — You'll be inspired, entertained, and informed by broad coverage of developments across the entire spectrum of the arts.

NATURAL SCIENCE — You'll remain abreast of breakthroughs on the frontiers of science and medicine, including compelling essays on the moral implications of scientific discoveries.

LIFE — You'll discover new and better ways to make your life more rewarding, colorful, and productive.

CULTURE — You'll achieve a broad and deep understanding of the cultures that comprise our fascinating human fabric through the looking glass of history and anthropology.

BOOK WORLD — You'll stay current on important new titles published here and abroad by established as well as emerging talents in the literary world.

MODERN THOUGHT — You'll be challenged and enlightened by our award-winning series of provocative essays by noted scholars and religious leaders probing the heart and mind of humankind.

YES, I want to receive a **Risk-Free Trial Issue** at no cost or obligation. If I like ***The World & I***, my price will be $45 (regular cover price is $120 per year)for all eleven remaining issues. If I am not totally satisfied with my trial copy, I will simply return my invoice marked "cancel" and owe nothing.

☐ 1 year for $45 ☐ 6 months for $25 UJAABL

Payment Method: ☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill me ☐ VISA/MC ☐ AMEX

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Card No. _____ **Exp. Date** _____ **Signature** _____

THE WORLD&I

A Publication of The Washington Times Corporation
3400 New York Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002

For faster service call
1-800-822-2822
or fax
1-202-526-3497

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may think there is no important difference between questioning and then (unless there is material evidence of a crime) releasing a person, and admitting a person to a college, law school, or medical school. But it seems to me that there is a vast difference. Questioning a person on the street involves a minor inconvenience and no significant harm and may lead to the solution of a serious crime; allowing a person to enter a college will alter his life and deprive the person passed over of the same chance.

Mr. Terris would be right to think that the Constitution cannot be made color-blind if the Supreme Court permitted race-based arrests but denied race-based admissions. But it has never come close to doing this.

Frank Sinatra

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Taking Sinatra Seriously" [September], Terry Teachout is critical of Hofstra University's conference, *Frank Sinatra: The Man, the Music, the Legend*, planned for next year.

As director of the conference, let me say that we at Hofstra are perplexed. On the first page of his article, Mr. Teachout lists what he considers to be the better writings on Sinatra. Each of the authors he cites has been invited to participate in our conference, and several have already responded affirmatively.

Mr. Teachout charges that "a cottage industry of scholars specializing in 'cultural studies' neglects [Sinatra's] art to focus on his status as an 'iconic' figure in American popular culture" and that our conference is "typical of the breed." If he had had the opportunity to review the conference topics and the papers to be presented, he would find that the vast majority focus on Sinatra's "art" as a vocalist, musician, and also as an actor.

With regard to Mr. Teachout's assertion that we will make Sinatra out to be an "iconic" figure, we are not certain how that differs from a consideration of his unquestioned preeminence as a performer of popular music. Indeed, we think that Mr. Teachout's article in its entirety portrays Sinatra in "iconic" terms. He says that Sinatra "*really* deserves to be remembered as, in the words of the music critic John Rockwell, 'the greatest singer in the history of American popular music.'" Is this not an "iconic" conclusion?

Mr. Teachout states that

> a musician is significant only to the extent that he succeeds in expressing his personality through music. Sinatra's ability to do this, and not his tempestuous love life or (to quote the Hofstra conference's "call for papers") his "multigenerational presence," is what alone gives him a continuing claim on our attention.

Of all the papers thus far submitted, not one deals with Sinatra's "tempestuous love life," but many, analyzing various aspects of his musical achievement, assess the way he was able, in a career that spanned six decades, to express "his personality through music." Indeed, this is precisely what we meant when we referred to his "multigenerational presence."

Mr. Teachout chronicles Sinatra's ability through the years to "reinvent" himself by adjusting to the music that was popular at a particular time. In this regard, he says that after hiring Nelson Riddle, Sinatra "developed a new singing style whose appeal to the 50's audience was as powerful as his youthful crooning had been in the 40's," and that "the new Sinatra was a mature Sinatra." Is this not also an example of a "multigenerational presence"?

Mr. Teachout compares Sinatra's album, *Only the Lonely*, with the music of a classical recitalist like Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau. We agree, and plan a forum on the subject of "Sinatra and Classical Music (Including Opera)," with the expected participation of well-known opera performers and classical-music experts.

We believe that at our conference scholars, academics, journalists, and a variety of specialists in the musical field can and will provide an assessment of Frank Sinatra that Mr. Teachout would respect.

ERIC J. SCHMERTZ
Hofstra University
Hempstead, New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Ever since I read Terry Teachout's account, some years back, of his fascination with the Woody Herman band, I have followed with pleasure his writings on music and musicians—most recently, "Taking Sinatra Seriously."

I began to listen, with embarrassment and annoyance, to "The Voice" in the 1940's, especially on *Your Hit Parade*. Then, with maturity, I started to like him, a lot. My only disagreement with Mr. Teachout is that I value the Sinatra-Tommy Dorsey recordings more highly than he does and more highly than the jazzy, up-tempo later Sinatra who, I suppose, is technically superior but lacking in some of that early freshness (which sometimes, I agree, can get a trifle sticky). Sinatra got very good very early on. For example, the early "All or Nothing at All" with Harry James's band (1940) is to me a consummate recording, as is "Yours Is My Heart Alone" (with Dorsey) and "Be Careful, It's My Heart," to name just three.

WILLIAM H. PRITCHARD
Amherst, Massachusetts

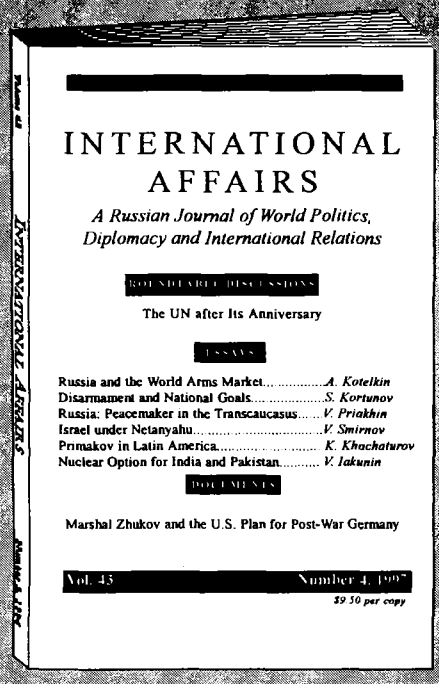
TO THE EDITOR:

I was delighted to open the September issue and see that Terry Teachout had turned his always interesting mind and incisive pen to Frank Sinatra. As usual, Mr. Teachout gets it right and says it well: Frank Sinatra is not merely a wonderful singer, but a real musician and a great artist. I have, however, one quibble. Mr. Teachout writes that Sinatra's last performances did "his musical reputation a good deal of harm." I was at one such performance: Sinatra's 1993 summer concert at the Garden State Arts Center in New Jersey. Sinatra was clearly not himself: he could not remember the words to his songs, he could not hit the high notes, and he was drinking Jack Daniels on stage. Nonetheless, the cheers for "Ol' Blue Eyes" were loud, and the enthusiasm was contagious.

No one went to the concert expecting to hear the heartthrob of the bobby-soxers or the delicate crooner of "In the Wee Small Hours" or the man who brought the delicious

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Russian Journal of Foreign Policy


INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS
The UN after Its Anniversary
ESSAYS
Russia and the World Arms Market ... A. Kotelkin
Disarmament and National Goals ... S. Kortunov
Russia: Peacemaker in the Transcaucasus ... V. Priakhin
Israel under Netanyahu ... V. Smirnov
Primakov in Latin America ... K. Khachaturov
Nuclear Option for India and Pakistan ... V. Iakunin
DOCUMENTS
Marshal Zhukov and the U.S. Plan for Post-War Germany
Vol. 43 Number 4, 1997
$9.50 per copy

Known for its close ties with the Russian Foreign Ministry, ***International Affairs*** offers unique "insider" interpretations of the major policy and security problems facing Russia presented by the leading Russian commentators and policy-makers.

Indispensable research tool for scholars, analysts and students of Russia and CIS!

PUBLISHED 6 TIMES/YEAR. ISSN 0130-9641

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE (IN THE U.S.):
Individuals: $39.00 per year
Institutions: $129.00 per year

ON-LINE EDITION:
Individuals: $29.00/yr. Institutions: $95.00/yr.
http://www.eastview.com/epubs.html

Distributed worldwide by
East View Publications, Inc.
3020 Harbor Lane North,
Minneapolis, MN 55447, USA
Tel: 1-800-477-1005 ◆ Fax: (612) 559-2931
E-mail: eastview@eastview.com

"Summer Wind" into the world. We went to see and hear Sinatra, the man whose music so deeply informs the way we feel about the world. I look forward to telling my children and grandchildren that I saw Frank Sinatra in concert. If he had stopped performing in his prime, or even early in his decline, that would be impossible.

MARK GERSON
New Haven, Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

Finally, there is someone writing about Frank Sinatra and his music and not Frank Sinatra, his music, *and* his life. Thank you, Terry Teachout, for dealing with the realities of Frank Sinatra's gift to all who love and delight in music. I have been a Sinatra fan for years and have marveled at the magnificence of the man and his music. Mr. Teachout is absolutely correct when he writes, "No other singer has done more to widen the expressive horizons of American popular song, and none has been more widely admired and influential."

HOWARD A. SIMON
Knoxville, Tennessee

TERRY TEACHOUT writes:

As I read Eric J. Schmertz's sensible-sounding letter, I began to wonder if I had perhaps criticized the Hofstra conference on Frank Sinatra too hastily. But given the endless lunacies perpetrated daily in the now-sacred name of cultural studies, such conferences are guilty until proved innocent, and the official list of "proposed topics for panels and forums" that Mr. Schmertz sent along with his letter—including "Sinatra and American Masculinity," "Sinatra the Painter," "Frank Sinatra and the Comedians," "The Fan Clubs," "Political Leaders Assess Sinatra," "Sinatra and Sports," "The Merchandising of Frank Sinatra," and "Sinatra Collectors of Memorabilia"—suggests that I was probably right after all.

I thank William H. Pritchard, Mark Gerson, and especially Howard A. Simon for their kind words. In Mr. Gerson's case, I hasten to return the compliment by noting that he has written amusingly and memorably of his admiration for Sinatra in his excellent book, *In the Classroom: Dispatches From an Inner-City School That Works.*

Gödel's Universe

TO THE EDITOR:

It was a pleasure to read Jeremy Bernstein's graceful account of Kurt Gödel's life and profound accomplishment ["Gödel's Universe," September].

I do wonder, though, that Mr. Bernstein did not mention Gödel's contributions to set theory, which together with Paul Cohen's work comprise a magnificent contribution to 20th-century intellectual life. In addition, logicians might wish that Mr. Bernstein had placed somewhat greater stress on the distinction between Gödel's first and second incompleteness theorems. Gödel provided a full proof for the first, which established the incompleteness of arithmetic, but only a sketch of the second, which established the impossibility of demonstrating the consistency of arithmetic from within arithmetic itself. It remained for the American logician Solomon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Own a Collection of 100 Year Old, Never-Circulated, U. S. Morgan Silver Dollars

Complete Collections Available

Designed by George T. Morgan 1877

HUGE SAVINGS (while supplies last)! These same Morgan Silver Dollars sold for over $100 each just a few years ago. When you purchase this special Family Heirloom Collection you will save 60%!

Receive this beautiful display chest FREE!

With your fourth monthly shipment, you will receive this **free** magnificent custom-designed walnut wood, velvet lined, 15-coin display chest valued at $125. This quality hinged chest comes with a clasp lock closure. It's the perfect way to protect and exhibit your valuable collection.

The Morgan Silver Dollar is the most famous American coin ever minted. This breathtaking collection combines beauty, history and scarcity.

Silver Dollars struck from 412.5 grains .900 fine silver by the U.S. Mint

In 1878 Congress mandated purchases of silver bullion to make Morgan Silver Dollars. *This began America's love affair with the silver dollar.* George T. Morgan designed these magnificent coins which became cherished by all Americans.

Silver Dollars From the Fabled Comstock Lode of 1873

Morgan Silver Dollars were minted from silver mined at Nevada's Comstock Lode "Big Bonanza" vein discovered in 1873. It was the richest silver strike in U.S. history. These coins were minted from 1878 until 1904, when the allotted supply of silver bullion gave out. Minting resumed in 1921 – but only for one year. *Then the Morgan Silver Dollar was retired forever – 76 years ago.*

Scarcity and Beauty

In 1918 more than half of all the exiting Morgan Silver Dollars were melted by the U. S. Government. This great tragedy removed a majority of the coins from the collectors market, and created the intrinsic value of your collection. Because of the scarcity of these coins you must order immediately.

Value & Desirability of Brilliant Uncirculated Coins

The value of a coin collection is created by a combination of scarcity and quality. The coins you obtain from The Silver Mint are all in Brilliant Uncirculated condition. They have never been touched, that's why they retain their mirror-like finish.

Coins From All 5 U.S. Mints –15 Different Years

Respond *within 10 days and* your 15th coin will come from the extremely scarce Carson City Mint which accounted for only 2% of all Morgan Dollars ever struck. Your Silver Mint Collection will then have coins from the major minting years, and include coins from each of the 5 mints that struck them -- Denver, San Francisco, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Carson City.

Almost Two Centuries of History Comes To Life

Because of their beauty and history, Morgan Silver Dollars are in demand by collectors worldwide. It was the favorite coin of the Old West gambling houses, and through the turn of the century symbolized American growth and expansion. It is the strong symbol of America's determination and heritage.

Convenient Monthly Shipments

You will receive one Morgan Silver Dollar each month for 15 months to be charged to your credit card without disruption in the building of your treasured collection. You may cancel at any time, for any reason.

Free Chest and a Numbered Certificate of Authenticity

With your 4th monthly shipment you will receive a **free** $125 value display chest. You will also receive a numbered *Certificate of Authenticity* from The Silver Mint Ltd., which guarantees that each coin is a genuine Brilliant Uncirculated U. S. Morgan Silver Dollar.

Limited Quantity Respond Within 10 Days

Morgan Silver Dollars are scarce. Once they are in the hands of individual collectors, it will be impossible to duplicate this offer. Remember, almost all coins were minted between 1878 and 1904. Most are over 100 years old.

Limited Number Of Complete Collections Available For Immediate Delivery

Complete collections are available for immediate delivery. Enjoy all 15 coins in the custom walnut display chest now.

Each coin is hand-selected to assure quality. Each day, these Morgan Dollars become increasingly more difficult to obtain in Brilliant Uncirculated condition. Order immediately.

Each BU Morgan Silver Dollar, encased in a Lucite capsule and accompanied by a numbered Certificate of Authenticity is only $39.95 plus $3.05 P&H (total $43.00). Please do not be disappointed. The complete collection is available at $595.00 including P&H (YOU SAVE $50.00). Call in your order today.

Extremely Scarce Brilliant Uncirculated Carson City Morgan Silver Dollar Included in Your Collection

CARSON CITY MINT BUILDING. PHOTO: NEVADA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

To insure your prized coin collection is complete, you will receive one coin from the Carson City Mint. The Carson City Mint produced only 2% of the Morgan Silver Dollars. They currently sell for up to $200.00. To assure availability, you must order within 10 days.

200% MONEY BACK SPECIAL GUARANTEE:

At any time The Silver Mint, Ltd. will repurchase your Brilliant Uncirculated Carson City Morgan Silver Dollar, for double the price you paid.

Major Credit Card Holders

CALL TOLL FREE:

1-800-390-7711

24 Hours a day–7 Days a Week

To order the complete collection by mail send your Name, Address, check, money order, Visa, MasterCard, Discover or American Express number and expiration date to: The Silver Mint Ltd., 41–865 Boardwalk, Building110, Palm Desert, CA 92211.

THE SILVER MINT, LTD.

© TSML 1997

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Feferman to complete the story in the 1960's.

Mr. Bernstein mentions antecedents to Gödel's great incompleteness theory, but without going into detail. The story is exceedingly poignant. Emil Post was an American mathematician of Polish birth, a member of the faculty at City College for his entire professional life. He saw the essential facts of incompleteness a full ten years before Gödel published his epochal paper, but was unable to organize his insights into a coherent and accessible proof. In 1941, he asked Hermann Weyl, then the editor of the *American Journal of Mathematics*, to publish a long retrospective he had written in which his own prophetic work would be brought to the attention of the mathematical community ("Absolutely Unsolvable Problems and Relatively Undecidable Propositions, Account of an Anticipation").

Weyl declined, remarking fairly enough that "Gödel, [Alonzo] Church, and others have done what they have done, and the *American Journal* is no place for historical accounts." But Weyl did add that "[p]ersonally you may be comforted by the certainty that most of the leading logicians . . . know in a general way of your anticipation." The exchange (reprinted in Martin Davis's introductory essay to a 1994 volume of Emil Post's collected works) gives one an idea of the insanely high intellectual standards prevailing in mathematical logic during the first half of this century, standards that would be impossible to implement today, even if they could be attained.

There is, finally, the curious fact that Gödel, "the greatest logician since Aristotle"—the description is J. Robert Oppenheimer's—failed to win a full professorship at the Institute for Advanced Study until 1953. No doubt, as Mr. Bernstein speculates, academic politics played the role it habitually plays, which is to ensure the suppression of genius. There is, as well, the fact that many mathematicians of the 1930's and 1940's regarded mathematical logic with frank hostility. Their attitude is still current: when I began teaching mathematics at the University of Paris in the late 1970's, French colleagues assured me that my own interest in logic was a form of intellectual pathology. And there is also the fact that until at least the mid-1950's, mathematical logic was more or less an esoteric discipline, occupying only a handful of scholars. Alonzo Church published his magisterial *Introduction to Mathematical Logic* in 1956, but Volume I did not include the Gödel incompleteness theorems and ten years later, when I found myself Church's student, the material on incompleteness still existed only in mimeographed form.

This has now changed, of course, but in assessing the sluggish failure of the Institute properly to appreciate the force of Gödel's work, it should be remembered that it required more than 30 years for mathematical logicians to establish the social apparatus necessary for the communication of their ideas.

DAVID BERLINSKI
San Francisco, California

Cold-War Historian

TO THE EDITOR:

I believe Gabriel Schoenfeld's review of *We Now Know* by John Lewis Gaddis [September] was dead-on in its thrust, but the tone was unfair to the author. Cold-war historians tried so hard to be evenhanded and objective that they ended up minimizing the ideological reality of Stalinism and Russian foreign policy. The left-wing consensus in the historical profession added to this drift. If Gaddis did fall prey to this tendency, he was more resistant to it than most.

Gaddis's classroom was open to all viewpoints, and he required equal rigor in reasoning, whether the student was arguing from the Left or the Right. There are very few campuses today where this is the case.

In an earlier book, *The United States and the End of the Cold War*, Gaddis put his own essays on the table so readers could examine his "exercise in faulty prediction." Very few writers have that sort of integrity.

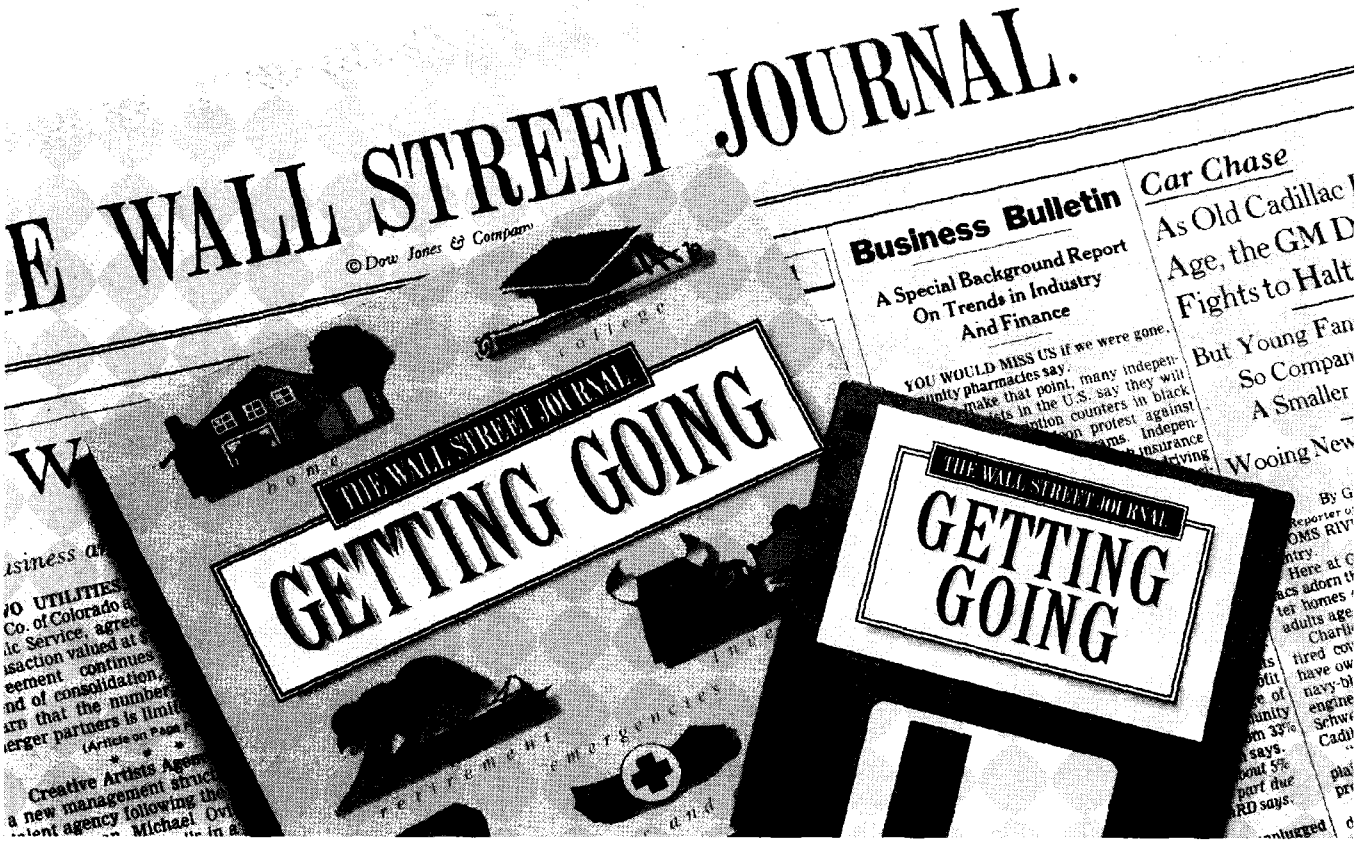
Most cold-war historians have eagerly consigned their earlier writings to the "memory hole." John Lewis Gaddis deserves credit for trying to assimilate the new information into our understanding of the controversial past.

CRAIG D. HENRY
Charlotte, North Carolina

GABRIEL SCHOENFELD writes:

I have no quarrel with Craig D. Henry's assessment of John Lewis Gaddis's integrity as a teacher and historian. In fact, I agree with every point he makes, except (of course) for his stricture about my "unfair" tone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Free software
to get your finances going in the right direction.

Keeping your personal finances on track is no easy task. That's why The Wall Street Journal developed a helpful new software program called "Getting Going."

With just a few clicks of your mouse, "Getting Going" will show you the best places to invest your savings ... how big a mortgage you can afford ... or where you should invest your child's college fund.

There's also an investment organizer to help you classify your securities and an analyzer to give you an instant overview of your portfolio.

BEST OF ALL, "GETTING GOING" IS FREE WITH YOUR PAID SUBSCRIPTION TO THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Don't miss this great offer – 13 weeks of The Wall Street Journal for only $49! You get all the business news that has an impact on your career, your family, your life – and the valuable "Getting Going" software to help get your personal finances going in the right direction.

To subscribe, call toll-free 800-322-3414 or mail the coupon today.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
228 East 45th Street, Suite 1515
NEW YORK, NY 10017

Send me: ❑ 13 weeks for $49. ❑ 26 weeks for $89.
Send my FREE "Getting Going" software for ❑ Windows ❑ Mac.
(For new paid subscribers only.)
❑ Check enclosed ❑ Bill Me.
(payable to The Wall Street Journal).
Charge to: ❑ AmEx ❑ Diners Club ❑ Discover ❑ MC ❑ Visa

Card No. _____ Expires _____

Signature _____

Name *(please print)* _____

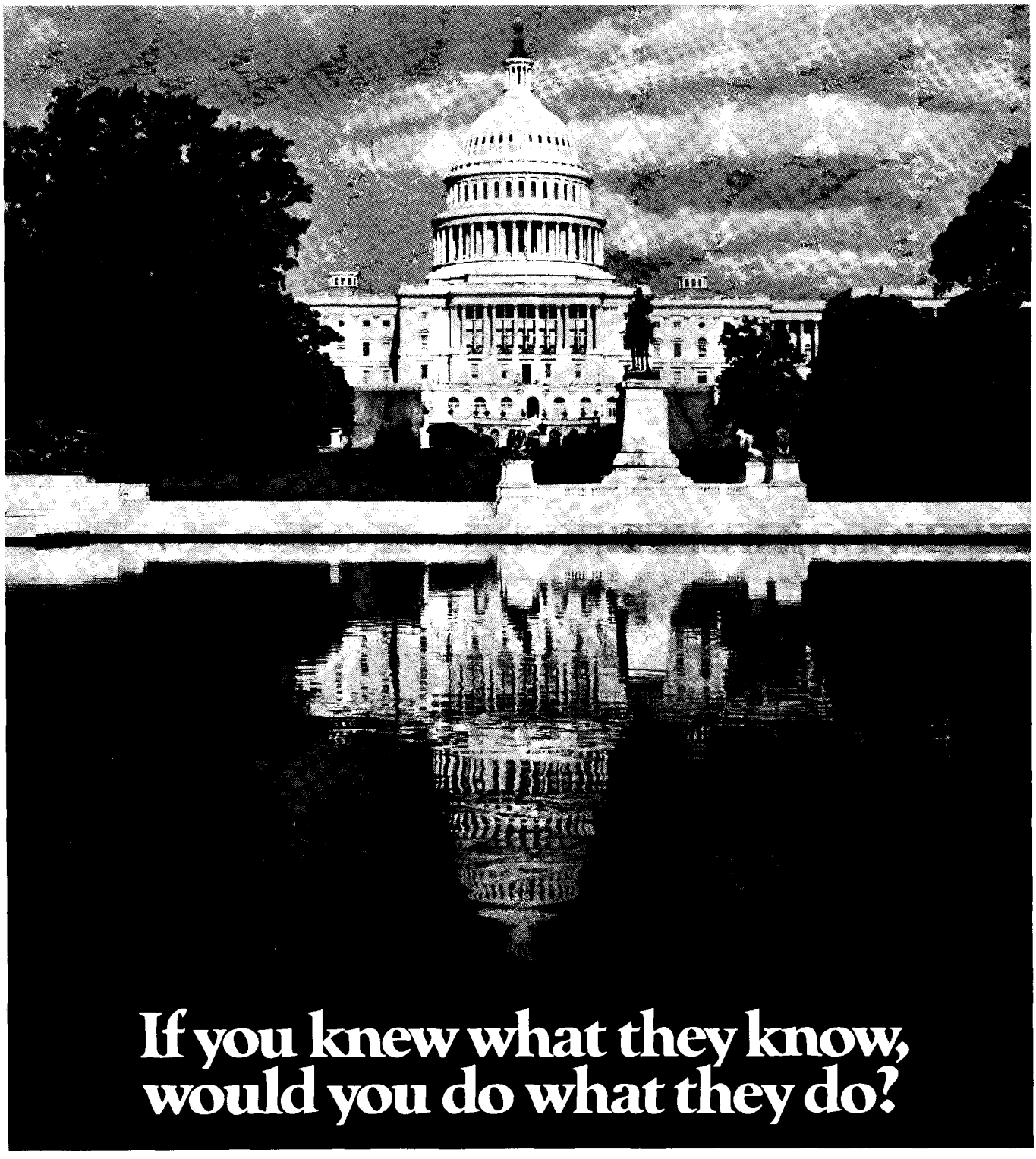
Address _____ Suite/Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Limited time offer – good in continental U.S. only.
©1997 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved.
1COME/3UYEW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



If you knew what they know, would you do what they do?

More than any other single force on earth, America's foreign policy will determine what kind of world we and our children live in.

And every one of us can influence that policy. That's what the nonprofit, nonpartisan Foreign Policy Association is all about: working to develop the kind of informed public opinion that will help our government make enlightened, responsible foreign policy decisions.

Last year alone, more than 250,000 Americans across the nation—in discussion groups, classrooms and community centers—participated in our *Great Decisions* program.

The *Great Decisions* book provides objective background on eight key foreign policy issues. Discussions help you form your views; you express them on opinion ballots, which FPA presents to Washington officials.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION 1918

To find out more, call us at (212) 481-8100. Or write to Foreign Policy Association, Department A, 470 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016. Donations are tax deductible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commentary
December 1997

The Scandal of the Law Schools

Stephan Thernstrom

A GENTLE FINGER placed on scales that are otherwise evenly balanced: that is how proponents have long described the way affirmative action works at selective colleges and universities. Thus, Herma Hill Kay, dean of the Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, has explained that a racial preference is the legitimate consequence of having "to choose between two equally qualified persons." It is a harmless policy, serving a vital social objective, and challenged by skeptics who have only their prejudices to support them and no hard data on how the process operates.

On the last point, supporters of affirmative action were long correct; the schools themselves made sure their actual admissions processes were shrouded in deep secrecy. In 1991, however, a corner of the veil was lifted when Timothy Maguire, a white student at Georgetown University's school of law, began a search for the truth. Thanks to a part-time job in the registrar's office, Maguire was able to scan the school's student records. He found that the college grades of blacks admitted to the Georgetown law school were startlingly lower than those of their white peers, and so were their scores on the Law School Aptitude Test (LSAT). This meant that race was not just one of many possible "plus" factors being considered by the law school's admissions committee; it was the *only* factor that could explain the presence there of most black students.

When Maguire went public with his findings, Georgetown's defenders mounted a fierce counterattack. Not only, they said, had Maguire violated the confidentiality of university records, but his charges were based on "incomplete and distorted information." They were designed, in fact, to lend support to an "intellectually dishonest myth": namely, that black students were "less qualified than their white counterparts to compete in school." As Maguire was in no position to conduct a more systematic study of the matter, and as those who challenged his assertions were manifestly disinclined to release relevant data, the matter rested there.[1]

Over the past couple of years, much more has been learned about the precise nature of the preferences given to minority, and especially black, applicants to American colleges, universities, and medical and law schools. In the Autumn 1995 issue of the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, for example, admissions figures supplied by colleges and universities disclosed dramatically higher acceptance rates for black applicants than for whites. Internal docu-

STEPHAN THERNSTROM *is Winthrop professor of history at Harvard University and the co-author, with Abigail Thernstrom, of* America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible. *(A review of this book, by James Q. Wilson, will appear in next month's* COMMENTARY.*) A longer, fully-annotated version of the present article will be published in the January 1998 issue of* Constitutional Commentary.

[1] For Maguire's side of the story, see his "My Bout With Affirmative Action" in COMMENTARY, April 1992.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments from the University of Michigan and the University of California, extracted by repeated requests under the Freedom of Information Act, have similarly revealed strong preferences being given to minority applicants. In the *Hopwood* case decided by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in March 1996, the law school at the University of Texas was found to have discriminated in favor of black and Mexican-American students, "elevating some races over others." And now a massive inquiry by Linda F. Wightman shows much the same practice being followed in law schools all around the country.[2]

As it happens, Wightman is a *supporter* of racial preferences. Moreover, her study, which has garnered considerable publicity, is explicitly aimed at countering efforts to undo them, like California's Proposition 209. As we shall see, however, her own evidence clashes with the interpretation she attempts to give it. And that evidence, from which quite different conclusions can be drawn, is remarkably rich.[3]

WIGHTMAN CONDUCTED her research while serving as a vice president of the Law School Admissions Council, whose resources enabled her to compile a formidable data base. Her primary sample is made up of the 90,000 applicants in 1990-91 to law schools approved by the American Bar Association. A second sample, a subset of the first, comprises the 27,000 or so students who actually enrolled in law school in the fall of 1991. Their progress was followed over time, making it possible to track their academic performance while in school, their graduation rates, and the rates at which they subsequently passed the bar exam.

The fundamental fact confirmed by Wightman's study is that significant preferences *were* given on the basis of race in the 1990-91 application cycle, and that, in the absence of these preferences, the number of blacks admitted to American law schools would have fallen very substantially. Indeed, of the 3,435 black students accepted in that year, only a fifth would have been admitted to the particular schools that took them had the criteria been college grade-point averages (GPA's) and scores on LSAT's alone. Among those who actually enrolled, the proportion acceptable on the basis of grades and scores alone was lower still—only 8.9 percent.[4] In the absence of preferences, some of these students might have attended lower-ranked schools, but about half, Wightman estimates, would not have gotten into any accredited institution.

In other words, 80 percent of black students accepted in 1990-91 had grades and test scores that, if they had been white, would have led to their being rejected by the school that admitted them. Not only that, but the grades and scores of those blacks admitted through affirmative action were astonishingly low; their college GPA's put them in the bottom 16 percent of all law students, and their LSAT scores were in the bottom tenth.

Though Wightman does not stress them sufficiently, two other patterns are visible in the admissions data she presents. First, black applicants received much heavier preferences than members of other racial or ethnic minorities who likewise came under the affirmative-action umbrella; being black conferred a decidedly greater advantage than being a Mexican-American or belonging to any other officially protected group. Second, the better the law school, the bigger the boost it gave to black applicants. Thus, among the most selective and prestigious schools, *17.5 times* as many black students were admitted as would have been the case if academic qualifications alone had been taken into account.

This ratio, which declines steeply as one descends to less selective schools, testifies to the zeal with which our most eminent institutions have been recruiting black students, whether or not those students meet normal entry requirements or anything resembling them. As one might imagine, the pursuit has created enormous difficulties for administrators who insist publicly that all they are doing is choosing (in Herma Hill Kay's words) "between two equally qualified persons." Indeed, documents that came to the surface in the *Hopwood* case offer a candid glimpse into what those who run an affirmative-action regime say to themselves when they think they are not being overheard.

The current dean of the University of Texas law school, when speaking in public, has characterized as "strikingly successful" his institution's pre-*Hopwood* efforts to attract minority students possessed of "intellectual depth." But the administration's internal correspondence at the time suggests something else. In one private communication, an asso-

[2] "The Threat to Diversity in Legal Education: An Empirical Analysis of the Consequences of Abandoning Race as a Factor in Law School Admissions Decisions," *New York University Law Review*, April 1997.

[3] It is perhaps relevant to note here that the original version of the present article was submitted to the *New York University Law Review* in response to Wightman's study; it was rejected without explanation.

[4] Although Wightman fails to note it, a disproportionate number of black students with the *best* academic qualifications who went through the trouble and expense of applying to law school, and were accepted, for some reason failed to attend. This is a mystery that awaits explanation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciate dean confided that whereas white students at the University of Texas were "overwhelmingly drawn from the very top of the national pool," in order to bring in African-Americans the school had been compelled to reach down "well into the bottom half of the national pool." Black candidates, he said, had to be judged by "radically different admissions standards."

Wightman's statistics conclusively support what the *Hopwood* documents illustrate: the objective of procuring a racially "diverse" law-school class is sharply at odds with the practice of adhering to meritocratic standards in admissions. That, however, is not where the argument ends—or not where it *now* ends, since proponents of affirmative action have somewhat altered their case to meet the no-longer deniable facts.

"Radically different" admissions standards, they say, may indeed have been applied in the case of minority groups. But there are solid reasons for that—social, political, and historical. And in any case (proponents continue), the point is not where applicants start out—their initial credentials—but where they end up. Once admitted, they have performed as well as their peers, both in law school itself and on the bar examination. Thus they have justified the chance taken on them by university administrators.

This is the conclusion that Wightman herself draws—a conclusion that has earned her research much attention. Reports in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and other major media have all echoed the judgment stated in the abstract that accompanies her article: if we eliminate affirmative action, we will be denying the benefits of law school "to many minority applicants who [are] fully capable of the rigors of legal education and of entering the legal profession."

Wightman's own data, however, show that this is not the case. Consider the key indicators of course grades and class rank. An earlier study by Robert Klitgaard of the nation's top ten law schools found that the grades of the average black student fell in the bottom 8 percent of the class, while a report from California in the late 1980's revealed that the mean law-school GPA of black students in that state was at "about the 15th percentile." Wightman does not comment on these studies, even to say that they are flawed, or anomalous, or out of date. Nor, though her own treasure trove of information holds what she forthrightly describes as "law-school performance data" for students who entered in the fall of 1991, does she tell us what these data reveal.

Instead of examining performance in school, Wightman ducks the issue by focusing on two other yardsticks: whether or not students graduated, and whether or not they passed a bar exam. Both these measures of achievement are indefensibly crude, and her interpretation of what they show is full of holes.

To begin with the first: Wightman finds it impressive that a very high proportion of affirmative-action beneficiaries in her sample made it through law school and collected their diplomas. This, she maintains, "strongly" supports the view that universities are careful to offer admission only to "those students of color who are qualified to meet the demands of law-school academic work."

There are glaring problems with this contention. Whether or not it was ever common to flunk law students, today the practice is extremely infrequent. Law schools are organized so as to ensure that nearly everyone makes it through to the end: Wightman's own figures show a whopping 89.1-percent graduation rate for her entire sample. This, indeed, may be one result of the commitment to affirmative action; once an institution lowers standards to admit more minority students, it increases the pressure upon itself to ensure they will graduate. In any event, today's graduation rates are much too high to offer a reliable indication of academic success. It is as if one were to set an athletic standard for college undergraduates of a twenty-minute mile; at that rate, varsity lettermen and nerds who rarely leave their cubicles would come out looking equally fleet-footed.

But even leaving aside the unreliability of graduation rates as a measure of achievement, Wightman's treatment of the evidence is seriously deficient. For one thing, she avoids any mention of the conspicuous racial differences in the proportion of students who manage to pass even the relatively easy test of graduating: no fewer than 21.9 percent of the blacks in her sample failed to collect a degree, more than double the white dropout rate. She evades *this* issue by restricting herself to a comparison between blacks who were admitted through preferences and those who were not. As between these two subgroups, she finds only a slight variance (2.6 percentage points), with the beneficiaries of preferences graduating at a rate "not significantly below" those admitted on strictly academic grounds.

Her comparison is intended to obscure the central fact: even the black scholastic elite is dropping out of law school at nearly double the rate of whites admitted on academic grounds. And this troubling phenomenon may be still another baleful consequence of affirmative action: some of the nation's best-qualified black students have been encouraged to enroll in institutions above their level of acade-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mic ability. In all likelihood, many have become discouraged enough to leave. Their painful dilemma hardly suggests the "success" of a policy that has set them up to founder.

WHICH BRINGS us to perhaps the most sensational aspect of Wightman's study: her findings concerning performance on bar examinations. Here, too, it has long been known that blacks fail these tests at far higher rates than whites, and here, too, Wightman conspicuously neglects to cite any of the readily available sources. Thus, between 1977 and 1988, 73 percent of whites in California, on average, passed the bar exam the first time they took it, as opposed to only 30 percent of blacks. (In 1994, the gap narrowed to 82 versus 53 percent.) In New York, between 1985 and 1988, the average first-time pass rate for whites was again 73 percent, while for blacks it was 31 percent. In Florida in 1991, 76 percent of whites passed the bar on their first attempt, but only 46 percent of blacks. And so forth.

Given the large number of studies showing a significant racial disparity, Wightman's claim that she herself found "little or no difference [between blacks and whites] in the likelihood of passing the bar examination" comes as a real surprise. But once again, inspection of her numbers reveals that they do not prove her point.

Overall, 93.9 percent of the students in Wightman's sample passed the bar exam—a figure impossible to reconcile with the first-time failure rates either of blacks or, for that matter, of whites. Where does this figure come from? It appears that Wightman has employed her own, distinctive measure of performance, examining not first-time rates but only whether a student passed a bar exam at any time within three years of graduation. Since most states offer the exam twice a year, this means that at least some of those classified as having "passed" surely did so on their *sixth* attempt.

Lumping together those who pass the bar on the first try with those who require multiple attempts is extremely misleading. Just as it is reasonable to wonder about the competence of an automobile driver who has flunked his road test in five out of six attempts, it is reasonable to wonder about the command of the law held by someone who has managed to eke out a passing grade only after repeated efforts. Wightman had the data to perform a sophisticated analysis, comparing pass rates for first-time test-takers—the customary measure—with her own, more expansive, conception. She chose instead to blur the relevant distinctions, thus conveying the wholly erroneous impression that beneficiaries of affirmative action perform every bit as well on the bar exam as others.

As she did with graduation rates, Wightman scrutinizes the bar-exam results of blacks admitted on the basis of academic performance alone as compared with those admitted on the basis of preferences. In her sample, 9.8 percent of the former failed to pass the bar, while the failure rate for the latter was 27.1 percent—almost three times higher. Once again, her findings are at odds with the conclusion stated in her abstract: namely, an absence of "significant differences in the . . . bar passage rates between those minority students who would have been accepted to law school [without racial preferences] and those who would not."

As for the overall difference, not between two subsets of blacks but between blacks and others, an analysis of Wightman's data shows that the failure rate for black law-school graduates taking the bar is more than *six times* the white failure rate. This, however, is a calculation that she herself does not perform. And no wonder: it may be the most newsworthy, and most depressing, piece of data in her entire study.

Not that such facts are exactly a secret, at least to the law-school officials who have to contend with the problem all the time. Here again the *Hopwood* documents are illuminating. According to an associate dean at the University of Texas, "approximately" 90 percent of the school's white students passed the bar on their first try, while the figure for blacks was "consistently under 50 percent." "Even more seriously," he continued plaintively in a confidential draft letter, "half of our minority graduates who fail the exam fail again upon retaking," and these high failure rates were "an embarrassment that does real damage to our reputation," bringing the overall pass rate at the state's flagship law school to a point lower than at such rivals as Baylor, Southern Methodist University, or even lowly Texas Tech, where there were "few minority students" to pull down the school's average.

The "embarrassment" felt at the University of Texas must have been the more painful since the explanation for it could hardly be made public; after all, the school was claiming that it did not employ a double standard in admissions. In an effort to solve the dilemma, another associate dean wrote a memo a few years later proposing to publish "quantitative outcome measures" that could be used to demonstrate the school's ongoing excellence. By breaking down bar-examination pass rates by race, the dean suggested helpfully, the school would at least be able to show the public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that *white* students trained there were continuing to do just fine. Needless to say, his superior promptly circled the words "by race" where they appeared in the memo under the heading "Bar Pass Rate," scrawling beside them a very large "NO!"

Throughout the *Hopwood* correspondence there runs one consistent thread: the deans at the University of Texas were far more concerned with demonstrating their commitment to "diversity" than with the welfare of the black students they were thrusting into a competition for which these students were ill-prepared. Although the evidence was inescapable that many of the students were failing the bar exam and failing it again, a dean questioned about the matter in the *Hopwood* proceedings confessed that he did not know the "final bottom-line" record of their achievement. Better, one presumes, to stop keeping track altogether than to confront the full degree of one's own responsibility for students one has recruited and spent three years training, only to leave them still unqualified to enter the profession one has recruited them for in the first place.

ALTHOUGH SHE is wrong about many things, Linda Wightman is undoubtedly correct about one thing: eliminating racial preferences from the admissions process will sharply reduce the number of black students accepted at our most selective and prestigious institutions. The reason for this, as we have seen, is simple enough: on average, black students are much less well-prepared academically than their white peers. As we have also seen, it is simply false to assume that this gap will shrink or disappear if blacks are admitted to better schools than their academic records merit. Despite pretenses that such students are somehow or other "qualified," a weak undergraduate record and poor test scores are handicaps that few succeed in overcoming.

What is so for law schools is so for medical schools as well. Pertinent here is a 1987 Rand Corporation study of the career paths of black and Latino physicians admitted to medical school as a result of preferences. According to this study, the rate at which such students became "board-certified" to practice medicine was a direct function not of their graduation rates from medical school but of their grades in college and on the Medical College Admissions Test, the medical-school equivalent of the LSAT. Over 80 percent of the minority physicians with strong enough grades and test scores to merit admission without preferences went on to become board-certified, matching the record of whites and Asians. By contrast, a mere *32 percent* of minority medical-school graduates with the weakest college academic records managed to achieve certification in their specialty.[5]

These implacable facts explain the already precipitous decline in the number of black students applying for or entering the University of California's law and medical schools after the regents mandated color-blind admissions policies and California voters endorsed Proposition 209. Though this fall-off has been loudly lamented by supporters of affirmative action—President Clinton has expressed "shock," and likened it to the reimposition of segregation—such a response is deeply disingenuous. The decline is simply a reflection of the magnitude of the reverse discrimination that has been practiced in the past.

If voters in other states follow California's lead, or if decisions by other courts extend the reach of the principles set forth in *Hopwood*, in the short run we will indeed have fewer black students receiving legal and medical training. But those who do make it will be much better prepared than those who have entered as a result of racial double standards. Not only will they themselves be better lawyers and doctors, but the fact that they have earned their positions through their own merit will make for a healthier racial climate, in professional schools and elsewhere.

As for the problem posed by the relative paucity of black students at the most selective schools, there is only one long-term solution: better academic preparation in the years of kindergarten through 12th grade. Already in post-Proposition 209 California, there is talk of establishing programs to tutor elementary- and secondary-school pupils, in hopes of closing the racial gap in cognitive skills. A nationwide rollback of our pernicious system of racial preferences may well release further energies of this kind. It is in any case a much-needed step along the road to social health, as Linda Wightman's study inadvertently—very inadvertently—shows.

[5] The findings of this careful inquiry contradict those of a recent and much-ballyhooed study of the medical school at the University of California at Davis, published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* on October 8, 1997. This article, which the *New York Times* uncritically reported as providing proof that preferences work, is junk social science in the Wightman tradition. Among its many glaring flaws, the most important is that it does not, in fact, examine students admitted to medical school as a result of racial preferences. Rather, it reports on the performance of *all* students admitted for extra-academic reasons. Thus, no valid conclusions can be drawn about the 43 percent who were members of "underrepresented" racial groups. Whether this failure to supply the breakdowns necessary to make valid assertions about racially preferential policies stems from incompetence or from dishonesty is difficult to say.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Politics and Jewish Giving

Jack Wertheimer

WRITING IN these pages 35 years ago, the sociologist Marshall Sklare observed that Jewish philanthropy—"so high in its reputation"—provided an "exemplary case for those who wish to study or improve the state of American philanthropy" at large.* To buttress his point, Sklare quoted a prominent American Catholic: "The Jews are the most highly organized group, and they have the most intelligent leadership. . . . They're the only group that can really raise money. They have a real program." Echoing these words a few years later, the editors of *Fortune* praised the leading American Jewish charities as "marvels of organization."

Present-day observers are considerably less sanguine. It is not that Jewish giving has dried up. The sums donated to various causes continue to accumulate at a robust pace, and Jewish philanthropies rank among some of the largest in the country. But the "marvel of organization" is now eroding, and a variety of forces threatens to undermine the very elements that made Jewish giving a model for other Americans.

FROM THEIR earliest arrival in this country, Jews exercised their rights of free association by establishing a broad range of agencies to meet their separate needs as a religious, cultural, and ethnic group. The single check on the growth of such agencies was a practical one: Jews could have only as many institutions as they were prepared to support, and their capability was limited by the disinclination of many to affiliate with the organized community. But the real threat was never an insufficiency of agencies. It was the reverse: powerful centrifugal forces propelled Jews of different national backgrounds, social classes, and ideological outlooks to establish their own charitable institutions, each spinning in its own orbit.

This "chaotic fragmentation," as the historian Hasia Diner has observed, tended to make unified action "nearly impossible." And so, beginning a little over 100 years ago, Jewish agencies in local communities started to band together to overcome this liability by creating coordinated fund-raising campaigns. As time went on, these federations of Jewish philanthropies became the central bodies in each Jewish community, their purpose expanding to include not only raising money but allocating the income and planning for common needs.

Soon the process of coordination went beyond the local purview. In the period after World War II, the various federations around the country and in Canada, having already created an overarching Council of Jewish Federations (CJF), formally merged their operations with the United Jewish

JACK WERTHEIMER *is provost and professor of American Jewish history at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His study,* "Current Trends in American Jewish Philanthropy," *appeared in the 1997* American Jewish Year Book.

* "The Future of Jewish Giving," November 1962.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Appeal (UJA), then as now the primary apparatus for disbursing funds to Jews abroad. Today, each local federation allocates a percentage of its annual campaign revenues to the UJA as it sees fit, thereby helping to determine the balance of spending on both domestic and international needs. In recent years, the CJF has even sought to impose a measure of "continental" planning on this process, most dramatically by "taxing" local federations to fund Operation Exodus, a billion-dollar campaign to help resettle Jews from the former Soviet Union in Israel.

Several circumstances facilitated the strides toward coordination in our century. For one thing, some of the deeper rivalries among previously warring Jewish groups abated. These had included the struggle between Zionists and anti-Zionists, which was settled by the Holocaust and the creation of the Jewish state, and the rift between so-called "Uptown" (German) and "Downtown" (East European) Jews, largely resolved in favor of the latter by the sheer weight of demography. Then, too, a functional consensus emerged concerning the priorities of the community: support for social-welfare programs at home and for anti-Communism and pro-Israel activism abroad. The continuing vulnerability of Jews in Communist and Arab lands to government-sponsored anti-Semitism, and the relentless threat of assault facing Israel, focused attention on the twin needs of rescue and protection.

During this era, American Jewish philanthropy flourished mightily. In 1939, the combined annual campaigns of UJA-Federation raised $28 million. By 1948, that figure had grown to over $200 million, and in the period from the Six-Day War of 1967 to Operation Exodus in the early 1990's, it leapt from $318 million to over $800 million. Simultaneously, a whole range of "friends-of" organizations was formed to support specific institutions in Israel, while new institutions were also created to foster religious education, Holocaust remembrance, and Jewish cultural activity here at home.

TODAY, THINGS look very different. For the past five years, annual UJA-Federation fund-raising campaigns have been essentially flat—which means that, when inflation is taken into account, the sums collected have actually been declining. Moreover, the federations have become increasingly dependent upon large individual donors, many of whom, rather than simply contributing to the general pool, insist on earmarking much of their money for specific causes. Finally, ever-larger sums now bypass the UJA-Federation structure; less than one-third of the money sent to Israel by American Jews, for example, is still channeled through UJA.

All this is taking place against a backdrop of far-reaching demographic and cultural change. One such shift is generational, and its effect can be seen in changing philanthropic tastes. Just as, in American society at large, United Way is losing ground to causes favored by the younger generation like Habitat for Humanity or the Sierra Club, so, within the Jewish community, the umbrella-like activities of the federations funded by the "GI generation" are losing ground to smaller, "hands-on" groups appealing to baby-boomers.

The shift is not just a matter of smaller versus larger. The particular causes being supported by Jewish money today have themselves undergone a change—indeed, in many cases, a sea change. The plain fact is that more and more money is going to causes that have little or nothing to do with the Jews.

Charles Eastman, a student of American philanthropic patterns, cites a prototypical example. In a will recently probated in New York State, the deceased was

> a Jewish boomer who died of AIDS. He left a six-figure amount to the United Nations for the care of children in the Central American country where he discovered his spirituality. A lesser amount went to an at-home meal-delivery service for people with AIDS. Not one dollar went to the Jewish federation, the hospital that cared for him, or close members of his family. . . .

Whether or not this will is indicative of an entire generational pattern, it surely speaks to one aspect of what may be called the accelerated assimilation of Jews into American society. Another such aspect is geographical. Giving to Jewish causes correlates strongly with settled propinquity to other Jews. As American Jews continue to abandon areas of traditional Jewish concentration, many have reduced or severed their attachments to communal institutions. Not surprisingly, rates of giving are far lower in the Sunbelt regions than in the stable communities of the Midwest; some of the poorest-performing federations are to be found in Florida and the far West, which are also the strongest magnets of Jewish migration.

What is true of these "Jews on the move," moreover, is even truer of the rising numbers now marrying Gentiles: in 1989, a year in which 45 percent of entirely Jewish households gave to a federation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the comparable figure for interfaith households was 12 percent. Both migratory and intermarrying Jews, significantly, continue to support non-Jewish causes generously even as their gifts to Jewish institutions drop at a precipitous rate.

Another indicator of waning commitment can be seen among the wealthiest. Again, contrary to the myth that Jews give disproportionately to Jewish causes, an examination of tax filings by 200 family foundations reveals that the vast majority allocate the bulk of their grants to non-Jewish causes. This finding has been confirmed in a recent study by Francie Ostrower of elite Jewish philanthropists in New York City,* a significant percentage of whom no longer make their largest gifts to Jewish organizations.

The social basis of this particular shift is not difficult to discern: in the past two decades, elite American charitable and cultural institutions have "discovered" Jewish money, and Jews have been quick to respond. Boards of museums, hospitals, and symphony orchestras that within living memory would not have had more than a token Jewish presence now routinely court wealthy Jews, and the same is true of universities that once placed strict quotas on the number of Jews admitted. From the point of view of those well-to-do Jews doing the bestowing, "class identity," as Francie Ostrower has written, now "overshadows ethnic affiliation."

To be sure, at least some Jewish philanthropists of earlier generations also conferred their largess on non-Jewish causes. What has been lost is a sense of balance, and the strong commitment to taking care of one's own. In part this may reflect an attenuation of identity. Several generations are usually represented on the boards of family foundations, and among them there tend to be a fair number of intermarried individuals whose ties to Jewish life are weak at best. But some also believe either that Jews are no longer truly needy, or that the worthiest causes lie outside the Jewish community. More positively, perhaps, others assert that nonsectarian giving will win friends for the Jewish community.

As it happens, this general view of things is wrong. Many Jewish institutions are scrambling to survive. A crisis in funding could, in particular, drive many day schools out of business precisely at a moment when the organized community is striving to recapture its young people.† Other Jewish institutions, from synagogues to cultural organizations and social-service agencies, are similarly hard-pressed.

Aside from misconceiving the actual needs of the Jewish community, many big givers lack the imagination to grasp what is required to nurture the *next* generation of givers. As numerous analysts have confirmed, both voluntarism and charity correlate powerfully with participation in organized religious life. Not only are worshipers the most generous supporters of religious institutions themselves, they also give heavily to health, social-service, educational, and cultural agencies, sectarian and nonsectarian alike. In other words, if worthy causes both inside and outside the Jewish community are to secure the beneficence of a new Jewish generation, it is in the interest of today's givers to look to the health of Jewish institutions, especially religious ones, for it is through them that Jewish values—including, preeminently, the value of philanthropy itself—are transmitted.

EVEN AMONG those who do continue to contribute heavily to Jewish causes, worrisome new trends have arisen. The most salient of these is the shift from pooled toward designated giving, or what one UJA-Federation executive has termed "boutique philanthropy." This shift has been fueled by the massive growth in Jewish family foundations, 3,400 of which were in existence as of 1995. Aside from the tax advantages offered by such arrangements, they offer a large measure of influence with little accountability.

To be sure, some of these foundations have identified areas of real weakness in Jewish communal life, and have valuably redirected energy and resources to causes once relatively scanted by the federations. The Mandel and Gruss foundations, for example, have poured huge sums into the field of Jewish education. Two Wexner family foundations sponsor programs to train the community's next generation of professional and lay leaders. And the Bronfman foundations have invested heavily in strengthening Jewish campus life and taking young people on study trips to Israel. In local communities, family foundations have revitalized older agencies; one thinks especially of the billion-dollar Weinberg foundation, a mainstay of Baltimore Jewry.

But if some family foundations have made significant contributions, others have squandered precious resources, floundering with no clear purpose or creating elaborate programs only to dismantle them arbitrarily. In the competition to create a definable niche for themselves, many family founda-

* *Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy* (Princeton, 1995).

† See Marvin Schick and Jeremy Dauber, "The Financing of Jewish Day Schools," report of the Avi Chai Foundation, September 1997.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions tend to devote themselves to the innovative and the offbeat, neglecting institutions with proven track records, or to favor new programs at the expense of mundane needs like regular maintenance and overhead. Much is also lost through the duplication of staffing and the capriciousness of decision-makers.

Federations have sought to remedy these problems—and to respond to the new reality—by creating a structure for family foundations under their own auspices. In these arrangements, families can advise a federation on where their money should be directed, while the federation, in turn, is guaranteed its own say over allocations, as well as eventual control of the assets. Indeed, assets held by federations in the form of endowments and other philanthropic funds grew from $600 million in 1981 to $2.7 billion in 1991 and nearly $4 billion by 1996, helping to offset the stagnation in annual campaigns. But though the federations may thus have found a means of tapping a large reservoir, in the long run the proliferation of pet projects under the effective control of individual donors can only erode the sense of community-wide coherence, and of a balanced program defined through collective planning.

AND NOW still another challenge has come along to threaten the structure of American Jewish philanthropy. Ideological in nature, it issues from partisans whose ire is ostensibly directed at the distribution of American Jewish funds in Israel, but whose purposes go far beyond.

The battle, long simmering, was joined in earnest a few months after the election of Benjamin Netanyahu as Israel's Prime Minister in May 1996. By September, a dozen Reform rabbis were regaling congregants attending High Holy Day services with horror stories of the Orthodox monopoly over Israeli religious life, and appealing to them to withhold contributions to the United Jewish Appeal and direct their gifts instead to Reform institutions in Israel. Since then, the issue of "pluralism"—in Israel, but by implication in Jewish life as a whole—has become a rallying cry.

The small Reconstructionist movement, for example, has called "upon all Jews to restrict their Israel-oriented gifts to organizations actively committed to religious pluralism," even though in principle this means that no Orthodox Israeli institution would be worthy of the support of the American Jewish community. Not surprisingly, the president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America has responded by raising the ante: "no UJA money," he has suggested, "should be given to any project with the word 'pluralism' attached to it." If, under the pressure of such agitations, the UJA should indeed be forced to begin choosing among religious groupings in Israel, its entire structure could well collapse.

Others have also joined the fray. Writing in *Tikkun* this past summer, David Biale, an activist professor of Jewish studies, urged American Jews "to refashion their relationship with Israel to move away from charity and toward specific projects that promote values such as religious pluralism, democracy, and Jewish-Arab relations." "All American Jewish giving," Biale sweepingly averred, "should be on the model of the New Israel Fund," an agency that supports causes favored by the Left and pays little attention to the broader humanitarian needs typically addressed by the United Jewish Appeal.

Similarly weighing in has been the *New York Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman, who has exhorted American Jews to reshape Israeli society by bankrolling "those forces that support tolerance, pluralism, democracy and the Oslo peace, [as well as] Reform, Conservative, and modern Orthodox Judaism." Friedman then goes on to list specific agencies and funds, notably omitting UJA or, for that matter, any institution offering basic medical and social services: no hospitals, no immigrant-absorption centers, no programs catering to needy Jews.

The appearance of the "Oslo peace" on Friedman's list signals another preoccupation of the new "pluralists," one that has nothing to do with the traditional humanitarian cast of Jewish philanthropy and everything to do with politics plain and simple. In line with such political considerations, some givers are now refusing to allow their contributions to be sent abroad at all, while others have cut back on their donations to UJA, usually on the grounds that its money in Israel goes disproportionately to Orthodox and politically right-wing institutions. This, again, happens to be false: the bulk of UJA funding in Israel goes (via the Jewish Agency) to immigrant absorption and rural and urban development, and if, in grants to educational institutions, Orthodox schools predominate, that is because there are far more of them; even so, some of the largest subsidies to educational programs in Israel support Reform and Conservative institutions. As for social services, in addition to health and family care, UJA money is used to undergird institutions for battered women and abused children, as well as programs of Arab-Jewish rapprochement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aware of these facts, some critics retort that philanthropy from abroad is essentially "fungible," freeing up funds that the current government of Israel can use to support its own favored institutions. Starve the UJA, they contend, and Netanyahu's minions will be forced to reduce allocations to yeshivas and other undesirable things. What they mean is that the present government, if rendered incapable of "delivering" to its supporters, might fall. By such arguments they expose the true lineaments of their program, which, like Thomas Friedman's, has less to do with supporting "tolerance, pluralism, [and] democracy" in Israel than with undoing, via the instrument of philanthropy, what Israeli democracy happens to have wrought, remaking it in the image of their own political inclinations.

OF COURSE, donors of all stripes have long favored institutions that, in their estimation, will work to the betterment of society. What distinguishes the current effort to undermine UJA is that it puts ideological aims before all others. Thus, Letty Cottin Pogrebin, a past president of Americans for Peace Now, has declared that "in addition to contributing to organizations that promote the peace process and pluralism, [American Jews] must also support those that champion civil liberties, women's rights, and Jewish-Arab coexistence." This presumably leaves out not only UJA but Hadassah, the largest Jewish women's organization in the United States, which invests most of its funds in hospitals and clinics that serve *all* populations in Israel. One wonders whether American Jews are going to be asked, next, to end their support for Israeli universities, museums, orchestras, or other cultural institutions that fail to pass the litmus test of "pluralism."

And what sort of pluralism is this, anyway? The UJA-Federation structure brings together secular Jews and Jews of every religious outlook in support of comprehensive programs that have striven to remain above the political fray. Through an elaborate, consensus-driven, sometimes agonizingly slow process of decision-making, it has endeavored to accommodate the variety of perspectives within the community. It is, rather, the new spokesmen for pluralism and diversity who, in the furtherance of their narrow ideological aims, seek to bypass this coordinated structure, if not to destroy it altogether, saying: my cause, or no cause.

If things continue on this path, Jews will soon face a thoroughly balkanized situation in which the Orthodox give only to the Orthodox, Reform and Conservative Jews to Reform and Conservative institutions, women only to women, political fans of whatever government is in power in Israel to that government's favored causes, and political opponents to those of its adversaries—a reversion, in short, to the very "chaotic fragmentation" that the federation structure was designed to overcome. In the meantime, more and more will be giving to no Jewish causes at all, and, still worse, what used to be the major objects of Jewish philanthropy will be left to go a-begging, as they increasingly are already. And who then will care for the collective needs of *klal yisrael*, the totality of the Jewish people, in all its heartening, maddening diversity?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Campaign-Finance Follies

Bradley A. Smith

In 1974, Congress passed amendments to the Federal Elections Campaign Act that, for the first time in our nation's history, seriously undertook to regulate political campaigns. Most states followed suit, and virtually overnight, politics became a heavily regulated industry.

Yet we now see, on videotape and in White House photos, shots of the President of the United States meeting with arms merchants and drug dealers; we learn of money being laundered through Buddhist nuns and Indonesian gardeners; we read that acquaintances of the President are fleeing the country, or threatening to assert Fifth Amendment privileges to avoid testifying before Congress. Regulation, we were told two decades ago, would free our elected officials from the clutches of money, but they now seem to devote more time than ever before to pursuing campaign cash. The 1974 reforms, we were promised, would open up political competition, yet the purely financial advantage enjoyed by incumbents in congressional races has increased almost threefold. Regulation was supposed to restore confidence in government, yet the percentage of Americans who trust their government to "do what is right most of the time" is half what it was before the 1974 act, and campaigns themselves seem nastier and less informative.

Bradley A. Smith, *here making his first appearance in* Commentary, *is an associate professor at the Capital University Law School in Columbus, Ohio.*

Well, say apologists for the law, if we have failed, it is only because our labors have just begun. If our goals seem farther away, we must redouble our efforts. We must ban political action committees (PAC's). We must prevent "bundling," a procedure whereby a group collects contributions from its members and delivers them all at once to a candidate's election committee. We must ban large contributions to political parties ("soft money"). We must, in the words of former Vice President Walter Mondale and former Senator Nancy Kassebaum, learn to distinguish between "campaign endorsements or attacks and [speech] that genuinely debates issues," and we must restrict the former while encouraging the latter. Senators John McCain (R.-Arizona) and Russell Feingold (D.-Wisconsin), the most prominent reformers in today's Washington, have proposed enacting all of these measures at once.

If existing regulation has failed so spectacularly, and existing laws are being broken seemingly at will, is more regulation the solution? Before we rush off on another round, it may be worthwhile to examine the premises on which the impulse to regulate campaign finance is based. Each of them is severely flawed.

II

The first assumption underlying proposals for campaign-finance regulation is that too much money is being spent on political campaign-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing. The amounts are often described in near-apocalyptic terms. Candidates, we are informed, amass "huge war chests" from "fat cats" who "pour their millions" into campaigns and "stuff the pockets" of representatives in an "orgy" of contributions. Expenditures "skyrocket," leaving legislators "awash" in "obscene" amounts of cash.

Hyperbole aside, however, the amount spent each year on all political activity in the United States, from every ballot referendum to races for every office from dog catcher to President, is less than the amount spent on potato chips. Total spending on congressional races in 1995-96 was less than what is spent annually on Barbie dolls. Total PAC contributions in federal elections in 1995-96 were just about equal to the amount needed to produce the most recent *Batman* movie.

On a per-voter basis, our expenditures are equally low: less than $2.50 per eligible voter per year, or about the cost of a single video rental, for all congressional races, including all primaries. Looked at as a proportion of gross domestic product, total spending on all political activity in this country amounts to approximately five-hundredths-of-one-percent—less than is spent in nations as varied as Canada, Germany, and Venezuela.

Perhaps more relevant than any of these comparisons are the amounts spent on political campaigning versus other types of advertising. In 1996, the Home Depot corporation alone spent more on advertising than federal law allowed Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, and Ross Perot put together to spend on the general election. Although Michael Huffington was roundly criticized for "exorbitant" spending in his 1994 race for a Senate seat from California, it cost him less than what Sony International spent in the same year to promote a single compact disc by Michael Jackson. Unilever NV, a company most people have never heard of, devotes more money each year to advertising its wares than has ever been spent in any two-year election cycle by all candidates for the House and Senate.

The plain truth is that it costs money to communicate, and there is no reason to expect that political communication should come free. This is the crucial insight of the Supreme Court's 1976 decision in *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, a case issuing from a challenge to the 1974 Federal Elections Campaign Act by a broad coalition of groups ranging from the ACLU to the Conservative and Libertarian parties. There the Court struck down mandatory limits on campaign spending as well as limits on what a candidate could spend from his own personal funds. The Court did not say, as its critics have alleged, that money equals speech; rather, it recognized that limits on spending can restrict speech just as surely as can a direct prohibition. Imagine, for example, if newspapers were limited to $100,000 a year for publishing costs: most would go out of business, and those that remained would become very thin indeed. (This consideration has hardly stopped the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and *USA Today* from ridiculing the *Buckley* decision.)

Spending on political advertisements is important to educate voters, increasing their interest in elections and their knowledge of candidates and issues. Repetition plays an important part in this process: the electorate's hatred of 30-second campaign ads is surpassed only by its desire to get its political information by means of those same ads. And the ads cost money.

Although campaign-finance reformers often appeal to the public's unhappiness with negative ads, negativity has long been a feature of political campaigns, and money is not the source of it. (As long ago as 1796, the presidential candidate Thomas Jefferson was attacked as "an atheist, anarchist, demagogue, coward, mountebank, trickster, and Francomaniac," and his followers as "cutthroats who walk in rags and sleep amidst filth and vermin.") In fact, if the goal is to have positive campaigns, even *more* money would be needed, for the simple reason that positive ads are less memorable than negative ones and hence need to be repeated more frequently. Besides, a limit on spending would mean that candidates would have to depend more on the media to get their message across, and the press is often more negative in its campaign coverage than the contestants themselves.

There is, finally, no objective criterion by which to measure whether "too much" is being spent on political campaigns. But as we have seen, spending in this country is not high. Considering the vital importance of an informed electorate to democratic government, it is hard to discern why it should be lower.

THE HIDDEN premise behind the idea that too much is being spent on campaigns is that money "buys" election results—a second assumption of reformers. It is true that the candidate who spends the most money wins most of the time. But the cause-and-effect relationship between spending and victory is nowhere near so straightforward as this might suggest.

For one thing, the formulation neglects the desire of donors to give to candidates likely to win. In other words, it may be the prospect of victory

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that attracts money, not the other way around. (What that money does and does not buy is treated below.) Or a candidate's fund-raising edge may simply reflect the relative status of his popularity, later to be confirmed or disconfirmed at the polls.

Even when the ability to raise and spend money actually succeeds in changing the outcome of a race, it is ballots, not dollars, that ultimately decide who wins, and ballots reflect the minds of voters. All that spending can do is attempt to change those minds. It would be a strange First Amendment that cut off protection for speech at the point where speech began to influence people's views, and it reflects a remarkable contempt for the electorate to suggest that it is incapable of weighing the arguments being tendered for its consideration.

Indeed, there is ample evidence that the electorate does so discriminate, and that higher spending in behalf of a losing argument will not necessarily translate into electoral triumph. In the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994, for example, the 34 victorious challengers spent, on average, just two-thirds of the amount spent by their Democratic opponents, who also enjoyed the inherent advantage of incumbency. By contrast, in the 1996 race for the Republican presidential nomination, Phil Gramm, who raised the most money, was the first to have to drop out. As Michael Malbin of the Rockefeller Institute of Government has observed, "Having money means having the ability to be heard; it does not mean that voters will like what they hear."

The key variable in elections is not which candidate spends the most, but whether or not challengers are able to spend enough to overcome the advantage of incumbency and make their names and issues known to voters. Once they reach this threshold, races are up for grabs. For example, in the 1996 House races, 40 percent of challengers who spent over $600,000 won, as opposed to just 3 percent who spent less than $600,000. Once the threshold was crossed, it mattered little whether or not the challenger was outspent, or by how much. The problem, if it can be called that, is not that some candidates "buy" elections by spending too much, but that others spend too little to get their message to the voters.

STILL ANOTHER assumption of reformers is that, if we truly cared about self-government and participatory democracy, we would be better off if campaigns were funded by many small contributors rather than by fewer large ones.

In fact, the burden of financing political campaigns has *always* fallen to a small minority, both in the United States and in other democracies. Nearly eighteen million Americans now make contributions to a political party, candidate, or PAC during an election cycle. Although this figure is higher than at any other time in American history, and represents a broader base of voluntary public support than has been enjoyed by any other system of campaign funding anywhere, it still comes to less than 10 percent of the voting-age population.

Which sorts of candidates are typically able to raise large sums of money in small amounts, as the reformers prefer? In the years prior to federal funding of presidential campaigns, the two most successful in this respect were Barry Goldwater and George McGovern. The former raised $5.8 million from over 400,000 contributors in 1964, only to suffer a landslide defeat, while the latter, who raised almost $15 million from donors making average contributions of about $20, lost in an even bigger landslide eight years later. More recently, Oliver North raised approximately $20 million, almost all from small contributors, for his 1994 U.S. Senate race, outspent his rival by almost four to one, and still lost to a candidate plagued by personal scandal—primarily because the electorate, rightly or wrongly, viewed him as too "extreme."

What these examples suggest is that the ability to raise large sums in small contributions can be a sign less of broad public support, as reformers assert, than of fervent backing by an ideological minority. Other groups positioned to exert influence by this means tend to be those (like unions) in possession of an ongoing structure for mobilizing their constituents or those we usually call "special interests." It is the inchoate, grass-roots public that more often fails to make its interests known, and is therefore frequently reliant on individuals with large fortunes to finance movements that will represent it. Ross Perot forced the deficit to the forefront of attention in 1992, and Steve Forbes brought about a debate on the flat tax in 1996. Both were real issues, but each lacked an organized constituency, a problem Perot and Forbes were able to overcome only by means of their own substantial resources.

Ironically, the banning of large contributions, which means that no single gift is likely to make much difference in a political race, gives potential donors little incentive to become involved. A radical campaign can overcome this difficulty: its supporters tend to be motivated more by ideology than by rational calculations of a candidate's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chances of winning. But this just further underscores the way in which banning large contributions can help render the political system more rather than less vulnerable to forces on the fringes of the mainstream—hardly, one presumes, the result the reformers have in mind.

A corollary fallacy entertained by reformers is that the financial resources placed at a candidate's disposal should ideally reflect his level of popular support. But this is to confuse the purpose of elections with the purpose of campaigns. The former do measure popular support. The latter, however, are about something else: persuading voters, and *improving* one's level of support. This, as we have seen, requires monetary expenditures, and it is a sign of health in a democracy when such expenditures are forthcoming.

When Steve Forbes declared his candidacy for the presidency in the fall of 1995, few Americans had heard of him or given much thought to the idea of a flat tax. Forbes's standing in the polls for the Republican nomination was in the vicinity of 2 percent. If his spending had been limited to his preexisting level of support, the flat-tax debate would probably not have occurred. Yet such debates are what campaigns ought to be about, and the more we regulate campaign money, the fewer of them there are likely to be.

PERHAPS NO belief is more deeply rooted in the psyche of reformers—and of the public at large—than that the money drawn into the system through political campaigns corrupts not only the campaigns themselves but, once a candidate is elected, the entire legislative process. Many officeholders have themselves complained about the influence of money in the legislature. But political scientists and economists who have studied this matter have consistently concluded otherwise. As John Lott and Stephen Bronars, the authors of one such study, conclude: "Our tests strongly reject the notion that campaign contributions buy politicians' votes. . . . Just like voters, contributors appear able to sort [out] politicians who intrinsically value the same things that they do."

The primary factors affecting a legislator's voting record are personal ideology, party affiliation, and constituent wishes—not contributions. Does anybody really think Phil Gramm would suddenly drop his opposition to gun control if the National Rifle Association (NRA) ceased contributing to his campaigns? Of course not: the NRA supports Gramm *because* he opposes gun control, and so, almost certainly, do many if not most of his Texas constituents.

This makes perfect sense. Individuals who enter politics usually do so because they have strong views on political issues; party support is almost always more important to election than any one contribution; and, to repeat, a legislator wins with votes, not dollars. For a politician to adopt an unpopular or unwise position that will cost him voter support in exchange for a $5,000 campaign contribution—the maximum amount allowed under federal law—would be counterproductive, to say the least.

This is not to say that other factors never come into play. A legislator may be concerned about how his vote will be reported in the press, or whether an opponent can easily caricature him in a negative ad. Personal friendships may affect a voting decision, as may the advice of aides and staff, itself often influenced by ideology. Money is another such secondary factor, but it is only one, and not necessarily the political commodity of greatest value. Many of the most influential Washington lobbying groups, including the American Association of Retired Persons, the National Education Association, and the American Bar Association, do not make political contributions. The NRA does have a large PAC, but it also has nearly two million members who care intently about its issues. Although gun-control advocates complain that the NRA outspends them, the more important fact is that it also outvotes them.

Finally, most issues find well-financed lobbies on both sides. A seemingly dull proposal to introduce a one-dollar coin, for example, may line up metal companies, vending-machine manufacturers, and coin laundries on one side, paper and ink companies on the other. Similarly with higher-profile issues like tort reform, where well-financed insurance interests take one position and equally well-financed trial lawyers the other. At least one set of these contributors, and often both, will suffer enormous *losses* in the legislative process, a fact often ignored by reformers.

When push comes to shove, even the most ardent reformers are rarely able to point to a specific instance of corruption. Ask a reformer to name which of our 535 Congressmen and Senators are acting contrary to what they believe to be the public good, or to what their constituents desire, because of campaign contributions, and the answer every time is some variation of "It's the system that's corrupt." But if we cannot name individuals corrupted by the system, on what basis are we to conclude that corruption is a problem intrinsic to the "system"?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III

When it came time to fight the American Revolution, the founders of this nation did not go to the king seeking matching funds with which to finance their revolt. Instead, in the Declaration of Independence, they pledged their fortunes as well as their lives and sacred honor.

Today, in order to cure the alleged problem of fortunes in politics, reformers offer a variety of complex schemes aimed at *preventing* private citizens from demonstrating their commitment to democratic political change. Former Senator Bill Bradley and House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt claim that we need a constitutional amendment to overturn the *Buckley* decision. In Gephardt's sweeping formulation, there is a "direct conflict" between "freedom of speech and our desire for healthy campaigns in a healthy democracy," and "you can't have both." Their proposed amendment, if enacted, would grant a greater degree of protection to commercial speech, flag burning, and Internet porn than to the discussion of political candidates and issues.

Meanwhile, "moderate" reformers continue to push the McCain-Feingold bill, lately shorn of a ban on PAC's that even its sponsors admit was "probably" unconstitutional. Even so, this bill would place vast new limits on the freedom of political discussion, ban most contributions to political parties to pay for voter registration, slate cards, rallies, and get-out-the-vote drives, and restrict speech in ways directly prohibited by standing Supreme Court decisions.

If it is not the case that too much money is spent on campaigns, or that money, rather than the character of a handful of elected officials, is the source of political corruption, or that large contributors buy elections or in some way frustrate "true democracy," why should we tolerate such gross infringements of traditional First Amendment freedoms? What would be accomplished by measures like those being proposed by the reformers that would not be better accomplished by minimal disclosure laws that simply require the reporting of all sources of financial support?

Of course, disclosure laws may also be broken, as they appear to have been in the 1996 campaign. Character matters, and the rule has yet to be invented that someone will not succeed in violating. But what all the reformers overlook, from the most extreme to the most moderate, is that we already have, in the First Amendment, a deeply considered response to the problems inherent in democratic elections—and one that is far superior to the supposedly enlightened system of regulation with which we are now saddled.

By assuring freedom of speech and the press, the First Amendment allows for exposure of government corruption and improper favors, whether these consist of White House meetings with drug dealers or huge tax breaks for tobacco companies. By keeping the government out of the electoral arena, it allows for robust criticism of government itself, and prevents incumbents from manipulating the election-law machinery in their own favor. It frees grass-roots activists and everyday speech alike from suffocating state regulation, thereby furthering the democratic aim of political discussion. And it allows candidates to control their own message rather than having to rely on the filters of the press or the vagaries of bureaucrats and judges called upon to decide which forms of speech are to be limited as "endorsements or attacks," and which allowed as "genuine debate."

In the vast muddle that has been made by our decades-old regulatory folly, the only real question concerns whose logic we will now follow: the logic of those who gave us our existing campaign-finance laws and who, despite a disastrous record, now want license to "reform" them still further, or the logic of the founders who gave us the First Amendment. For most Americans, I suspect, the choice would be an easy one.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Daughters of the (Sexual) Revolution

Wendy Shalit

THE SIGNALS of distress currently coming from the fairer sex merit a hearing. They issue from books and magazine articles, and they are echoed in the often impossibly contradictory statements by leaders and spokesmen of the feminist movement on themes ranging from women in combat roles to the threat ostensibly posed to womankind by the all-male Promise Keepers.

On the one hand, we are still being assured by feminists that *any* behavior on the part of men that suggests a protective attitude toward women is by definition sexist. "Chivalry," the writer Nancy Henley has declared, is an "oppressive tool"; according to the philosopher Marilyn Frye, even the act of opening a door for a woman sends the abhorrent message that "women are incapable." As for the Promise Keepers, a movement of men who forswear violence and vow to fulfill their marital obligations, it has been denounced by Patricia Ireland, the president of the National Organization for Women, for seeking to perpetrate a "hidden agenda": installing "men back in control as heads and masters of the family, government, and every other institution that shapes our society."

But does this mean that feminists prefer a world in which the sexual playing field has been truly leveled, where men and women alike are free to behave as they please, keeping and breaking their promises as the spirit listeth? That does not seem to be the case, either. In the age of stalking and date rape, of teenage pregnancy and AIDS, some feminists are in fact beginning to wonder, however tentatively, whether women, particularly young women, are really better off without the old, "sexist" codes that once governed the behavior of men. Admittedly, though, you have to read between the lines to hear the message, which is often no sooner breathed than it is denied.

WHAT, FOR instance, does a paladin of the movement like Naomi Wolf think is wrong with young women today? She would seem to think that they are not being promiscuous *enough*. That, at least, is what she suggests when she defines the central task of her recent book, *Promiscuities: The Secret Struggle for Womanhood*,[1] as erasing the stigma against the "shadow slut." It is also the thesis elaborated upon in her introduction, where she explains that the "fear of being labeled promiscuous [still] accompanies contemporary girls on each stage of their erotic exploration." And it is the rallying cry emblazoned on the book's jacket: "There are no good girls; we are all bad girls."

If that were the sum of *Promiscuities*, it would constitute just another case of equal-opportunity vamping and tramping. Are we not all hip by now to the fact that women and men (in, of course, their

WENDY SHALIT, *a contributing editor of* City Journal, *is working on a book about postmodern sexual morality.*

[1] Random House, 286 pp., $24.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uncorrupted state) entertain the same expectations of sex, and that, as the novelist Margaret Atwood reminds us, real equality "means equally bad as well as equally good"? But this is not what *Promiscuities* is really about. Under its liberated surface, Naomi Wolf has written an essentially reactionary book—or, rather, she has written two books, which run next to each other on parallel tracks.

Promiscuities is a "first-person sexual" account of life from 1968 to 1996. At the book's beginning we tour the dawn of the sexual revolution through the lens of Wolf's own sexual coming-of-age in the hippie kingdom of Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco; at its middle we witness firsthand the AIDS epidemic through the fearful eyes of one who has been sexually active for years; and at book's end we experience what getting married is like for an author who does "not want to return to the values of the prefeminist 'sexual mystique.'"

The double-track effect kicks in early. Even as Wolf's first chapter celebrates the "gorgeousness" of the hippie life of Haight-Ashbury, which "made us feel that we were not alive if we were not being sexual," another, less gorgeous story is being adumbrated:

> When, as an adult, I saw a documentary on the [1967] Summer of Love that showed a naked four-year-old trying desperately to get his tripping, dancing mother's attention until he started to cry, I felt my heart contract. I had an emotional memory of similar gatherings where playmates of mine had tried and tried to remind their parents, who were having so much fun, that they were still there—and still small.

Wolf's liberated voice returns soon enough. By chapter 3, she is lamenting that even during the heyday of the sexual revolution, girls were still being forced to deny the "'voice' of their own desire." When, at her Zionist summer camp, Wolf's friend Tia—she of the "high arched-feet with . . . pearly toenails"—is sent away for turning up pregnant one day, Wolf reflects bitterly on "the impulse to equate women's being sexual with their suffering a swift, sure punishment," an impulse she traces to "the Hebrews [who] equated female promiscuity . . . with shame, destruction, and just punishment." Yet Wolf also reports with palpable sadness that, when she lost her own virginity at age fifteen, there was "something important missing." What was missing was, precisely, a sense of that old Hebrew stigma: "When Martin and I went together to a clinic to arrange for contraception some weeks before the actual deed, no experience could have been flatter," she recalls. "It was weird to have these adults just hand you the keys to the kingdom, ask, 'Any questions?,' wave, and return to their paperwork."

Throughout this book, Wolf bravely goes on insisting that a girl's sex drive is "at least as intense" as a boy's and arrives just as "early," and that all the woes girls suffer today can be traced "to the silences created by the fear of entering the Slut's Dominion." But throughout this same book, she is also incensed at the eroticization of little girls in our post-sexual-revolution age, enraged about the "old-fashioned perverts to whom the culture ha[s] suddenly granted unforeseen access to create sexualized images of us," and fearful of the dangerous world her now two-year-old daughter will be inheriting. In short, this book, which purports to be about promiscuity, is really about the desire for innocence.

SO, IN fact, concluded many female reviewers of *Promiscuities*—and they did not like it one bit. Protest as she might that all she wanted was to redeem the inner slut, Naomi Wolf had managed to convey the impression of a defector, and for her pains she was slapped into purdah. In the *New York Times*, Michiko Kakutani called her a "sloppy thinker and incompetent writer" who "pass[ed] off tired observations . . . and sappy suggestions as useful ideas," while the columnist Maureen Dowd testified that she found *Promiscuities* inadvertently "hilarious." *Time*'s Ginia Bellafante assaulted the book for its "banal stories" about young women "who dated the wrong guys, who wish they hadn't lost their virginity so early, who were forced to deal with unplanned pregnancies." And Camille Paglia, the buccaneering professor who has elevated the *femme fatale* to a normative model of womanhood, saw through Wolf's "bad-girl" posturing in a second: "Why, why why why?," Paglia moaned to a reporter, "Why is Naomi Wolf telling stories about her own virginity? . . . Who needs these earnest memoirs?"

Paglia might have asked the same derisive question of another recent volume, Katie Roiphe's *Last Night in Paradise: Sex and Morals at the Century's End*.[2] A much subtler meditation than Naomi Wolf's, if on the same theme, the book takes its title from a line spoken by a suburban housewife in John Updike's 1968 novel, *Couples*: as she leads her lover upstairs to her king-size bed, this liberated seductress intones, "Welcome to the post-pill paradise." Roiphe's news, however, is grim: whatever

[2] Little, Brown, 193 pp., $21.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 60's promised, there was, in fact, no paradise to be found, only "an atmosphere of anxiety and caution as herpes, AIDS, date rape, and sexual harassment began hitting the headlines with an almost biblical persistence."

The personal tale behind this book concerns Roiphe's sister Emily, who contracted AIDS from "all the unwashed boys slipping up the carpeted stairs" into her bedroom. Roiphe is honest enough to acknowledge the weight of this experience, but, in a manner not unlike Naomi Wolf, she is also resolved to extract the wrong lesson from it. Just as her first book, *The Morning After* (1993), took a certain wing of the feminist movement to task for "infantilizing" women with a "barrage of warnings" about date rape, *Last Night in Paradise* scolds AIDS activists for becoming "childishly afraid" of sex and for taking refuge in a "50's propriety." In Roiphe's view, indeed, the worst thing about the AIDS virus is not that her own sister has contracted it, but that it has become a "powerful ally" of a right-wing Christian "abstinence movement [that] artfully plays on the deepest fears and insecurities of adolescence."

In her final chapter, Roiphe gives the game away. Here she interviews a young woman who has sworn off sex until marriage. Although, she admits, this young woman "does have a certain glow," and although the glow "resembles happiness," Roiphe assures us that *really* it owes to "something more like delusion." As for herself, she writes, she is "infuriated" by this woman: "I suddenly want to convert her more desperately than she wants to convert me."

Why? Appalled as she is by the sexual wreckage she sees all around her, and sure as she is that it has followed directly from the serpent in the "post-pill paradise," why is she so threatened—so "infuriated"—by a young woman who, in the full glare of the morning after, desires merely to be good, and thus to avoid a comparable wreckage in her own life? Roiphe does not say, and perhaps she cannot: again like Naomi Wolf, she has gone about as far as cognitive dissonance will take her, and cannot go farther lest, no doubt, she wind up "converting" herself.

Still, for the moment, that may be far enough. Wolf and Roiphe have each helped to register the signs of female wreckage, which multiply faster than the mechanisms of denial can explain them away.

HERE ARE a few more signs, and a few more denials. The 1994 report of the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), a pro-sex-education group, brings the news that, sex-wise, girls in this liberated age are not exactly jumping for joy. According to the report, they "are more likely [than boys] to say they 'should have waited until they were older' to have sex," and much *less* likely to say they "really feel good about their sexual experiences so far." (They are also, poor things, more likely "to say they were 'in love' with their last sexual partner.") Another recent study, entitled *Going All the Way: Teenage Girls' Tales of Sex, Romance, and Pregnancy*,[3] puts the case more starkly: "Sex . . . for teenage girls . . . seems more dangerous than ever now." Then come the denials: for SIECUS, the cure for girls' sexual doldrums is, needless to say, more sex education—once their consciousness has been raised, they *will* enjoy what they say they do not enjoy—while for Sharon Thompson, the author of *Going All the Way*, at least partial blame for the "danger" facing young girls must be assigned to their own mistaken tendency to "condition sexual consent on romantic expectations."

But things are even worse than these "studies" suggest. In *Schoolgirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap*,[4] Peggy Orenstein reports on the bodily harm girls, especially sexually active girls, do themselves today. There is not only the usual gorging and purging, but now also "delicate self-cutting." Vivid examples of this latter practice cram the pages of *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*,[5] a book that has been on the best-seller list in paperback for over two years. Here is a typical anecdote as told by the author, Mary Pipher, a psychologist:

> Tammy, seventeen, came in after her mother [Alice] discovered her cutting her breasts. Alice had awakened around three and noticed a light on in Tammy's bedroom. She went in to check on her and found her sitting on the bed surrounded by bloody newspapers, a razor in her hand. Alice woke [her husband] Brian and they drove Tammy to the hospital. The doctor stitched up the deeper cuts. . . .

It seems that Tammy—in, no doubt, another case of misplaced "romantic expectations"—was upset at having been forced to watch pornographic movies at her boyfriend's house on New Year's Eve.

Reflecting on her quite fearsome collection of stories of self-mutilation, Mary Pipher concludes, like Sharon Thompson, that "girls are having more

[3] By Sharon Thompson. Hill & Wang, 340 pp., $13.00 (paperback).

[4] Anchor Books, 335 pp., $12.95 (paperback).

[5] By Mary Pipher. Ballantine Books, 304 pp., $12.95 (paperback).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trouble now than they had 30 years ago, when I was a girl, and more trouble than even ten years ago." Gamely, she too reaches for the convenient solution: if only girls would stop behaving like girls ("female impersonators") and start behaving more "androgynously" (that is, like boys), they would gain an "ability to act adaptively in any situation regardless of gender-role constraints." But in the end the terrible absurdity of this proposition defeats her, and she is driven back to the paradoxical, ineluctable facts. "Ironically," she sighs, "the sexual license of the 1990's inhibits some girls from having the appropriate sexual experiences they want and need."

Ironically, indeed. As our reluctant reporters testify, we seem to have spawned a generation of girls whose thwarted feminine nature is reasserting itself in grotesquely distorted forms—in food hang-ups (culturally, a more acceptable way to maintain social distance than professing sexual modesty);[6] in self-mutilation (often, and poignantly, directed against feminine parts of their bodies); or in sometimes indiscriminate charges of male sexual harassment and date rape.

What to do? It cannot be an accident that the aspect of *Promiscuities* most offensive to Naomi Wolf's critics is her brief and nervous look at traditional societies and their methods of initiating girls into womanhood. All the cultures she holds up as examples—from the ancient Chinese to the early Dutch—have in common a specific understanding: namely, that "sexuality, like all the other functions of life, [should be] fraught with sacredness." And then Wolf goes so far as to ask the impermissible question: could it be that the cautionary advice *we* used to give our daughters, together with the codes of conduct that were intended to shape the behavior of young men, actually empowered rather than infantilized them? Could the older way of doing things have made them, like, *free*?[7]

There cannot be a more worthwhile line of inquiry than this. But where it will get the current crop of feminists is another matter. It is not just that, when it comes to prescribing, they tend, as we have seen, to call for ever greater doses of the germ with which they are already infected: more, but better, promiscuity. It is also that their hard-won if still-partial understanding of feminine nature is in danger of being enlisted as just another "option" on the endlessly accommodating agenda of their own liberalism.

Thus, Karen Lehrman, in her crisply written book, *The Lipstick Proviso: Women, Sex & Power in the Real World*,[8] happily concedes that some women really and truly like to have doors opened for them—and it would be wrong, wrong, *wrong*, she declares, to make them feel guilty about it. Liberalism is about "choice"—is it not?—so why should liberalism not embrace these women and their preferences, along with all other women and *their* preferences? As Lehrman concludes, "thanks to feminism, women can now pursue different sexual 'strategies,'" and one of these strategies just happens to go under the rubric of "courtship and chivalry."

TO ANY woman who wants to have her cake of custom and eat it too, this philosophy—pursue whatever "sexual strategies" you like, and then, when you are good and ready, let men know that it is time for them to come a-courting—must be immensely appealing. But just as no one has a right to be loved back, liberal feminists may have a hard time restoring, by fiat, the right of women to be wooed. Already, career women are reporting in irritation that, although *they* are now ready, having climbed the ladder, and having had their affairs and their abortions, they cannot find men who want to apply for the position of suitor. Surely the trouble cannot lie with their own career plans? (1. Take over big company; 2. Make somebody court me.)

Karen Lehrman writes confidently that "no one—most especially the law—should . . . underestimate the rationality of a woman, of her ability to make a clear-headed decision about her life." (She also reserves her harshest scorn for women who exhibit "excessive dependence on men"—*their* rationality, evidently, can never be underestimated enough.) But there is always the unexpected hitch. Feminists, having discovered that patriarchy did certain things better, may decide one day to grab their cellular phones so as to order up the deep erotic experience that goes with security and monogamy. But what, really, does it mean any longer to seek to win a pledge of marriage, when even the law no longer insists the pledge is a pledge?

The choices we offer, the opportunities we extend, are shapers of our culture, cutting off, in turn, whole sets of other choices and other opportunities. Dislike the fact though they may, even these ladies, in the end, cannot have it all. The floodgates remain open, and for them as, alas, for the rest of us, it is still sink or swim.

[6] Heidi, a sixteen-year-old patient of Mary Pipher: "'I hate to say this, but I'd rather binge than make out.'"

[7] Another of Mary Pipher's patients, a fifteen-year-old named Cassie, lives "in a town less rigid about [sexual] roles and more supportive of autonomy." But "ironically"—that word, again!—"in some ways, she's less free."

[8] Doubleday, 228 pp., $23.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Arab Rejectionism

Daniel Pipes

In the two decades since President Anwar Sadat of Egypt made his famous trip to Jerusalem to address Israel's parliament, a consensus has emerged that the Arab effort to destroy Israel is a thing of the past. Even Fouad Ajami, a hard-headed student of Arab affairs, wrote a year after Sadat's journey that the Middle East conflict was "no longer about Israel's existence, but about its boundaries." And ever since September 1993, when Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin shook hands on the White House lawn, the idea that much of the Arab world is now truly interested in achieving peace has become conventional wisdom, echoed and amplified in countless variations by politicians, diplomats, journalists, and intellectuals alike.

Thus, to Israel's then-Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, the peace agreement secured at Oslo represented a "revolution" in Arab thinking that would usher in a "new Middle East." In the view of M. Z. Diab, a former high-ranking Syrian official, the "majority of the Arabs, particularly those who are directly concerned—Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Palestinians—have accepted Israel as a reality to coexist with." In Vice President Al Gore's judgment, the "vast majority of leaders and peoples [in the region] are committed to the peace process." To the *Christian Science Monitor*, the Oslo accords "changed forever the relationship between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East." According to Barry Rubin, a leading Israeli analyst, the desire to destroy Israel has become a "minority position" in the Arab world.

Are such appraisals accurate?

Without a doubt, over recent decades the Arab disposition toward Israel has changed in significant ways. Some former enemies have clearly reconciled themselves to the existence of the Jewish state. Sadat's actions speak for themselves, and King Hussein of Jordan has also demonstrated his desire for peaceful coexistence. Many Kuwaitis, traumatized by the Iraqi occupation of their country in 1990-91, have developed a personal understanding of and sympathy for Israel's predicament, as have more than a few Lebanese who have experienced the tender mercies of Syrian occupation. Throughout the Arab world, a good number of business leaders seem eager to end an antagonism that diverts attention and resources from more pressing concerns, and military officers would clearly prefer to avoid a rematch with Israel any time soon.

But encouraging as such sentiments are, in other quarters hatred of Israel has not ceased. On the contrary, Arab rejectionism—the intent to destroy Israel—continues to flourish, taking a host of forms. Rejectionist Arabs harbor conflicting designs for the territory where the Jewish state lies. Palestinians seek to form a new country that will extend from the

Daniel Pipes *is the editor of the* Middle East Quarterly *and the author, most recently, of* Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes, and Where It Comes From *(Free Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jordan river to the Mediterranean; pan-Syrian nationalists want to turn "Palestine" into a component of Greater Syria; Arab nationalists envision Israel's land as a province of a huge Arab state; fundamentalist Muslims pray for the establishment of a pan-Islamic republic; and so forth. All, however, concur that Israel must vanish from the map.

Some rejectionist leaders speak openly of their purposes, with the fundamentalists usually being the most explicit. Iran's leader, Ali Akbar Khamenei, flatly asserts that "Israel should disappear." A spokesman for the radical Islamic organization Hamas says, "True peace can only be attained by returning the Palestinians to their homeland and returning the Zionist aggressors to the countries from where they have come." Others, more subtly, talk of two stages—accepting Israel now and destroying it later, when the wheel of fate turns and Arabs are mighty once again. Yasir Arafat balances his promises to accept Israel with violent language about *jihad*, that is, holy war.*

Westerners, and some Israelis, tend to discount the anti-Israel vitriol of Arab leaders as so much rhetoric. "These are only words," is how Shimon Peres puts it: "Let them talk." Others take refuge in the belief that the populations over which demagogues preside are rather more pacifically disposed. As Jimmy Carter has remarked, "the Arab people need and want peace." But if anything, the opposite appears to be the case: quite a few Arab dictators show greater flexibility in their thinking than do their subjects.

Egypt and Jordan are cases in point. Sadat may have journeyed to Jerusalem, but public opinion in Egypt never followed him there. Four years later, Sadat was dead—murdered, in no small measure, for the reconciliation with Israel he had sought and won; his legacy was repudiated, and he himself remains unmourned. In the twenty years since Camp David, Egyptian sentiment against Israel has gone from bad to worse. In overwhelming numbers, politicians, intellectuals, journalists, and religious figures continue to reject Sadat's legacy and to malign and revile the Jewish state.

Jordan's story is similar, and even somewhat grimmer. King Hussein—civilized, Western-oriented, amicably inclined—represents all that Israelis could hope for in the leader of a neighboring state. He not only signed a treaty that went far beyond the Camp David agreement in its warmth, but he has invested his own emotions in his country's tie with Israel. When one of his soldiers murdered seven Israeli schoolgirls earlier this year, the king traveled to Israel to pay a personal condolence visit to each of the bereaved families. But the Jordanian populace has hardly rallied around its monarch. Professional associations prohibit their members from having contact with Israelis. Businesses maintain an unofficial boycott of Israeli goods. Religious leaders spread vicious calumnies about Zionists and Jews. The soldier who killed the schoolgirls has been hailed as a hero, and not just in narrow circles of extremism.

Given the popular mood in Jordan and Egypt, over the long term Israel cannot rely on these two neighbors' remaining at peace, any more than it could before signing treaties and accords with them. And what is true of Jordan and Egypt is even more true elsewhere: the inescapable fact is that rejectionism remains widespread on the Arab street. A Lebanese fundamentalist, Ayatollah Fadlallah, is correct to note that there has been no genuine reconciliation between Israel and its former enemies, but "only a peace between Israel and these unelected Arab and Muslim regimes that do not represent their people." In the topsy-turvy world of Middle East politics, peace depends largely on Arab despots who keep popular passions in check; but even in this region of autocracy, populations ultimately have their way.

What accounts for this seemingly permanent enmity? Historical memory is one source, fed by the belief that once a land has been conquered and settled by Muslims, it becomes part of an inalienable Islamic patrimony, its loss a robbery that one day must be made good. Three full centuries after the whole of Spain fell to Christians in 1492, Muslims continued actively to dream of a restoration; in Muslim eyes, writes the distinguished scholar Bernard Lewis, this was Islamic ground, "wrongfully taken . . . and destined to be returned." Where Israel is concerned, there are two further insults: not only the possession by an alien people of sacred Islamic places in Jerusalem, but their possession by Jews, a historically impotent group now insufferably powerful.

The intensity with which this particular humiliation is felt may be explained in part by another quality of Arab political culture with few parallels in the modern world, namely, the disproportionate role played by visions, loves, and hatreds. Arabic listeners thrill to the promises of leaders like Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser or Iraq's Saddam Hussein, who vow to create an awe-inspiring new order through acts of wholesale destruction. Among Palestinians,

* For an examination of this dual approach, see "Arafat and the Uses of Terror" by Jonathan Torop in Commentary, May 1997.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this kind of radicalism appears to have a special hold. "When you believe in what you are doing, you don't think about the consequences," explained one Palestinian activist during the Persian Gulf war as he predicted that Saddam Hussein would crush the United States. "We are not in the mood for rational discussion," added another in speaking of the need for continual struggle against Israel.

Together, the role of historical memory and the passionate intensity of Arab political feeling may account for the special volatility of the Arab political sphere, in which even the most drastic actions—annihilating a state and scattering or killing its people—have long been accepted as commonplaces. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, established by the medieval Crusaders, was destroyed in the 12th century and its subjects were dispersed, an accomplishment that still serves as a model for modern Arabs. In the words of an Arab historian writing in 1957: "The struggle waged today by the leaders of the Arab movement of liberation [against Israel] is the very same conducted by the Ayyubids and the Mamelukes in order to beat off the Crusaders." Saddam Hussein followed this same model during Iraq's seven-month occupation of Kuwait in 1990-91: Kuwait's name disappeared along with its history, flag, and currency, while its people were hounded from their homes. Syria's Assad has emasculated Lebanon and extruded much of its population. Other states stand in danger of the same fate: Bahrain could be invaded at any time and transformed into the fourteenth province of Iran, while Jordan could fall into the maw of Syria, Iraq, or Saudi Arabia. In this limited but real sense, at least, Israel is not alone.

OVER ITS 50 years, Israel has relied on two instruments to cope with deep-seated Arab rejectionism: the ability to achieve crushing victory in war, and the willingness to demonstrate unstinting magnanimity in peace. Though the primary purpose of military supremacy has been to defend the country against attack, it has also been meant to establish Israel as an unmovable and permanent presence, a presence so strong and secure that the dream of eliminating it cannot succeed. Magnanimity, the other side of the coin, has been Israel's way of proving itself an acceptable neighbor, one from whom the Arabs have much to gain and, in peace, nothing to fear.

But neither strength nor magnanimity nor the combination of the two has solved Israel's basic problem. True, Israel's brilliant victories on the battlefield have resulted in gains in regional diplomacy. But these gains remain modest, and have been painfully slow in coming. The Six-Day War of 1967, one of the most decisive military triumphs in history, led in the first instance not to acceptance but to the famous "Three No's" of the Khartoum conference ("no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it"). After Israel crushed the PLO in Lebanon, scattering it to the far reaches of the Middle East, that organization continued to exist and to plan Israel's destruction.

Magnanimity, though liberally applied throughout Israel's history, has been even less successful than toughness. Returning the Sinai peninsula to Egypt three times—under British pressure in 1949, under U.S. pressure in 1957, and of its own volition in 1979—has not ended Israel's pariah status in the eyes of Egyptians, nor has it deterred high-ranking Egyptian officials from continuing to issue dire threats, like a recent one invoking a second "Holocaust of the Jewish people" if Israeli occupation of land claimed by Palestinians should persist. Embracing the PLO as a "peace partner" has not even achieved the elimination from its charter of clauses calling for Israel's destruction.

The psychology underpinning Israel's policy of generosity and compromise runs counter to the ingrained assumptions of the surrounding political world. Instead of conveying good faith, concessions communicate a sense of vulnerability and weakness, either whetting the appetite for more concessions or abetting a paranoid fantasy that Israel's efforts at reconciliation are part of a plot; after all, for what *honest* reason would a strong power behave as if it were weak? According to one survey of Arab public opinion taken in 1994-95, at the height of optimism about the prospect of a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians, 87 percent believed that Israel was pursuing peace out of sinister ulterior motives, like establishing regional economic hegemony or seizing control of water resources. The notion that what Israel "has failed to achieve by war it will achieve by peace" is a frequent refrain in Egyptian newspapers these days.

IF THE currents that feed and sustain hatred of Israel are firmly entrenched in the Arab mind, why are so many Westerners, for their part, persuaded that Arab rejectionism has waned? Why are so many unwilling to face facts?*

* It is noteworthy that Fouad Ajami, for one, has had second thoughts on this matter. See his column, "The Peace of Kings and Pharaohs" (*U.S. News & World Report*, February 17, 1997), where he writes that "there has been no discernible change in the Arab attitudes toward Israel. . . . The great refusal persists."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For some, the answer may lie in a general unfamiliarity with the Middle East and a consequent inability to accept the profound nature of the passions and antagonisms at work in Arab life. For others, a kind of intellectual projection may be to blame: as we ourselves value such things as prosperity and peace over nationalist longings or religious missions, so, we assume, must everyone else.

Shimon Peres's vision of a "Benelux-style" relationship between Israel and its Arab neighbors is one example of this mindset. Along similar lines, Caio Koch-Weser, a vice president of the World Bank with responsibility for the Middle East, explained in 1994 that for the peace process to succeed, "the Palestinians need to see improvements in their living conditions very quickly." But were Palestinians interested in the good life alone, they would long ago have settled into a comfortable synergy with Israel's dynamic economy. Instead, they have repeatedly shown that they are quite prepared to sacrifice the prospect of better living conditions if doing so will further the cause of obliterating Israel.

Whatever its sources, the incapacity or refusal of many in Israel and the West to credit Arab intentions enormously complicates the dilemma in which Israel finds itself today. Unfortunately, even clear-sightedness, though it has the advantages of illuminating the terrain, suggests no truly attractive path forward.

Engaging in a "peace process" with partners who reject one's very existence, or whose leaders can strike a deal only by thwarting the popular will, is fraught with danger. If Israel conveys a sense of war-weariness, negotiations will not lead to the compromises and accommodations it needs to gain from its neighbors. On the contrary, such a posture will encourage aggressiveness and cause adversaries to dig in their heels, secure in the belief that a strategy of patience and pressure will enable them, in the end, to prevail. This can be seen very vividly in the response of Palestinians to Israeli concessions: an escalation rather than a moderation of demands, and suicide bombing attacks that weaken Israeli resolve.

That leaves Israel with only one alternative—holding fast, and waiting for the policy of firmness to do its slow work with Arab leaders and, perhaps eventually, with Arab populaces. Firmness is not the same thing as passivity. Rather, it is a policy calling for a clear shift in the focus of diplomatic activity, both for Israel and for its principal ally, the United States. Thus, instead of concentrating on the by-products of Arab recognition, like the attendance of governments at an economic conference—something that boosts Israel's standing only microscopically—a policy of firmness would require both Jerusalem and Washington to insist day and night on the essentials of recognition, starting with an unequivocal end to Arab rejectionism. Instead of assuming that the way to peace lies through open-ended Israeli accommodations—closing down settlements, splitting Jerusalem—a policy of firmness would place both the moral and the political onus where it truly belongs: on the need for Arabs to demonstrate their acceptance of Israel to Israel's reasonable satisfaction.

One could specify other elements, too. In a policy of firmness, much stronger efforts would be made, for example, to prevent the Arab states and Iran from acquiring operational weapons of mass destruction, a new means by which to threaten the existence of Israel. And serious consideration would be given to prudent initiatives for encouraging the development of civil society and democratic habits in the Arab world (a policy admittedly not without risks of its own).

This whole line of thinking clearly holds little appeal for an Israeli citizenry that has, indeed, grown weary of war and impatient for peace, and that believes firmness has failed to "work." The weariness is certainly understandable, but the analysis is nevertheless flawed. In 1987, it would have been rational to despair of the American policy of containment: the Soviet Union remained a powerful competitor, and showed few signs of giving up its global rivalry with the United States. Yet vigilance, in the end, was the precondition of eventual victory, just as surely as the prior American policy of détente had opened the door to Soviet aggression and exploitation. *Mutatis mutandis*, firmness, which has already produced a number of cracks in the Berlin Wall of Arab rejectionism, ultimately offers the only means of demonstrating to Israel's neighbors that the country is here to stay.

True acceptance, however, the kind Israelis dream of, will come only when the Arabs are finally convinced they cannot destroy the Jewish state, today or ever. Painful as it may be for Israelis, as for many others, to acknowledge, it is the Arabs alone who will decide when a new Middle East can be born.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OBSERVATIONS

Libertarians Abroad

Arch Puddington

THIS PAST summer, a curious collection of foreign-policy types gathered at a conference in Washington, D.C., to declare their opposition to the expansion of NATO. In the mix were a number of distinguished figures of the establishment, including Fred Iklé, a top defense official during the Reagan administration, and William G. Hyland, the former editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Present, too, was Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R.-Texas). But much more prominently featured on the conference program were lesser-known voices: Ted Galen Carpenter, who declared that the contemplated expansion of NATO was "unnecessary, expensive, and provocative"; Stanley Kober, who likened NATO to the European alliance system that contributed to the outbreak of World War I; and Christopher Layne, who doubted whether any vital American security interests could justify sending our troops "to die for Gdansk—or Warsaw, Prague, or Budapest."

What the second group of speakers had in common, it turns out, was their connection to the conference's sponsor, the Cato Institute. Carpenter is Cato's vice president for defense and foreign-policy studies, Kober is a specialist on the institute staff, and Layne, a free-lance policy intellectual who currently teaches at the Naval Postgraduate Center, is a frequent participant in Cato events. But this only deepens the mystery: what were the likes of Iklé, Hyland, and Hutchison doing at a Cato event?

THE CATO Institute is a libertarian think tank. Founded in San Francisco in 1977, with a sizable endowment from the industrialist Charles Koch, it moved its headquarters to Washington in 1980 in hopes of becoming a more significant presence in the national policy debate. And, at least on the domestic side of that debate, Cato can indeed claim a following in Washington. Inspired by the work of F.A. Hayek and Milton Friedman—the free-market economists who serve as the intellectual godfathers of contemporary libertarianism—Cato has been a vocal and on the whole effective advocate of tax cuts, deregulation, and limited government. Its reports and opinion pieces are widely read, especially in conservative policy circles but elsewhere as well, and the institute is looked to for laissez-faire advice on everything from Social Security and immigration to welfare reform and drug policy.

Cato's conference on NATO expansion, then, marked something of a milestone. Though the institute has always devoted some of its energies and resources to foreign policy, its views in this area have never before won so respectful a hearing or mobilized such distinguished allies. In fact, one could put it more strongly: until fairly recently, Cato's stands on America's role in the world have placed it just this side of the radical fringe.

WHETHER OR not there is such a thing as a coherent libertarian approach to foreign affairs, Cato's own view has been remarkably

Arch Puddington, *a frequent contributor to* Commentary, *is senior scholar at Freedom House. He is completing a history of Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consistent over the years. The essence of that view is that American foreign policy in the decades since World War II has done enormous harm to American society. In particular, intervention abroad has been a driving force behind statism at home, justifying ever greater taxation, regulation, and surveillance of private citizens. Only by withdrawing from its vast international commitments can the U.S., in the view of Cato's analysts, hope to become a truly free society.

What follows from this general attitude is, on the face of it, a rather conventional sort of isolationism. Thus, for instance, Cato has expressed its hostility to American efforts to secure and extend the democratic revolution that has swept the world in recent years. The institute loudly opposed the American interventions in Haiti and Bosnia, predicting that each would turn into a Vietnam-style "quagmire," and it has also worked assiduously to shut down more modest efforts to promote political liberalization abroad, like Radio Martí (the American-sponsored broadcast service to Cuba) and the National Endowment for Democracy (which funds human-rights organizations and other independent groups in countries where democracy has yet to take root).

To get the true flavor of Cato's position, however, one needs to go back some years and sample its analyses of American foreign policy and the challenges faced by it. Thus, at a conference sponsored by the institute in December 1987—less than two years before the collapse of East European Communism—Christopher Layne spoke derisively of the notion that the U.S. could do anything at all to push the Kremlin toward reform. Maintaining that both liberals and conservatives "badly overestimate Soviet weakness," he baldly asserted that the Communists could "count on the support of the vast majority of the Soviet people," an extraordinary claim to be voiced at an event whose sponsor holds the human desire for liberty to be both primary and innate.

At the same event, Alan Tonelson, a former editor at the liberal journal *Foreign Policy* and another regular speaker at Cato forums, issued a sweeping condemnation of containment, the organizing principle of U.S. policy toward the USSR throughout the cold war. Though at the time America itself was in the midst of an unprecedented economic revival, Tonelson insisted that containment had not only failed to enhance the country's security but had served to undermine "its economic vitality, its economic sovereignty, [and] its technological prowess."

Fallacious and even hysterical as these assessments were at the time, they look positively foolish in the light of the Soviet Union's collapse. But this has not led Cato to change its tune. To the contrary, just as it urged a hands-off policy toward Communism and the Soviet Union in the pre-1989 era, so it has maintained that the ideal scenario for Eastern Europe today would be something like the *status quo ante*. At a 1994 forum, Ted Galen Carpenter spoke hopefully of Russia's being restored to great-power status, the more effectively to police its "volatile" former allies. For Carpenter, stability in Eastern Europe depended on the West's willingness to cede Russia a "sphere of influence" in the region; he seemed either unaware of or unfazed by the vivid political history associated with that term in the minds and on the skins of East Europeans.

ACUITY AND a sense of perspective have not been trademarks of Cato's offerings on other regions of the world, either. At a conference just before hostilities began in the Persian Gulf, William Niskanen, the chairman of the institute, confidently predicted that resistance to Iraq's designs on Kuwait would bring about inflation, increased taxes, and pervasive wartime controls at home. Rosemary Fiscarelli, an analyst for Cato, accused President Bush of being in the grip of an "obsession," and Christopher Layne charged that those supporting the American-led effort to dislodge Saddam Hussein were adopting a "statist position that regards America's citizens, resources, and institutions" as mere fodder for the "world order's pretensions."

Since the conclusion of the Gulf war, Cato has opposed any ongoing U.S. involvement in the Middle East, a region almost universally considered a vital American interest. In its most recent foreign-policy recommendations to Congress, the institute urged that we abandon our security commitments to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, and jettison our policy of containing Iran and Iraq. Opining that Islamic terrorism directed at American targets represents "primarily a backlash against Washington's meddlesome globalist, interventionist foreign policy," Cato suggested that we solve the problem by avoiding such "entanglements." In a recent study for the institute, Leon Hadar, a former correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*, likewise called for America's "constructive disengagement" from the Middle East, and particularly from the effort to achieve peace between Israel—a "repressive mini-empire"—and its Arab neighbors.

THE IDEOLOGICAL temper that informs Cato's analyses sometimes leads to quite astonishing intellectual contortions. Consider a recent essay by Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the institute, which asserts:

> For nearly five decades, the United States has acted more like an empire than a republic, creating an international network of client states, establishing hundreds of military installations around the world, at times con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> scripting young men to staff those advanced outposts and fight in distant wars, and spending hundreds of billions of dollars on the military. Indeed, [this] globalist foreign policy [has] badly distorted the domestic political system, encouraging the growth of a large, expensive, repressive, and often uncontrolled state.

Apart from the overheated rhetoric of this passage, Bandow's remarks are impossible to square with the extraordinary prosperity and personal freedom that Americans have enjoyed in the postwar era. One might think a libertarian would be compelled to acknowledge this state of affairs, even if declining to give any credit for it to the stable international order that was fostered, precisely, by American foreign policy.

Or consider Ted Galen Carpenter's *The Captive Press*, a 1995 book that purports to expose the government's success in controlling media coverage of international affairs during and after the cold war. As Carpenter sees it, the past half-century has been marked by a relentless drive to intimidate, mislead, smear, and coopt those Americans who have dissented from their country's conduct abroad. Even now, he contends, a foreign-policy elite continues to stifle honest debate. How this statement is to be reconciled with the intense and even intemperate public discussion of every conceivable foreign-policy issue in the past decades, from Vietnam and the nuclear freeze to the Persian Gulf war and American involvement in Bosnia, is a puzzle Carpenter does nothing to elucidate.

IN THE end, what is most striking about these and other foreign-policy pronouncements of the libertarian Right as represented by Cato is not how wrong they are, or even how wrongheaded, but how redolent they are of the positions embraced in the course of the cold war by the most radical elements of the American Left. This, in fact, is no coincidence. Both in principle and as a matter of historical record, libertarians have long shared a great deal with those at the other end of the political spectrum.

Indeed, in Cato's formative years, before its move to Washington, its alliance with the Left was a matter of open fact. Leftist writers were given a forum in the pages of *Inquiry*, the institute's magazine—so long, that is, as they stayed away from attacking the free market and confined themselves to the misdeeds of the U.S. on the world scene—and Cato actively collaborated with the radical Institute for Policy Studies, a proponent of revolution in the third world and socialism at home, in urging a unilateral American disengagement from the East-West conflict.

Cato also imbibed deeply of the Left's unrelievedly negative view of America's influence on the rest of the world. Writing in *National Review* in 1979, Edward H. Crane, then as now the president of the institute, blamed the United States for the successes enjoyed by its ideological rivals, insisting that American "attempts to control the international affairs of other countries have only created enemies and facilitated the spread of Communism." Murray Rothbard, a leading figure in the libertarian movement and a strong early influence on Cato's programs, went still further, castigating the U.S. as "more aggressive and imperialistic" than the Soviet Union.

For its part, *Inquiry* called for "total and unconditional" U.S. withdrawal from Korea, defended the presence of Soviet troops in Africa, and routinely launched broadsides against American "militarism." The magazine even adopted the pet causes of its foreign-policy sympathizers on the Left, calling for the abolition of the CIA and, of all things, revisiting the case of Alger Hiss in order to maintain his innocence.

Today's Cato is a much more polished and sophisticated institution. But it has remained true to this basic outlook—truer, even, than its erstwhile comrades. Long after much of the Left has abandoned or modified its anti-Americanism, Cato goes on stubbornly casting the United States as a meddlesome, imperialist bully, feared and despised the world over. An ideological relic Cato may be, but it deserves high marks for steadfastness.

CATO'S EMBARRASSING track record does not, of course, mean that its views on NATO expansion or on any other foreign-policy issue are necessarily to be dismissed out of hand. But one might think that the fact the institute has *always* rejected an active role for the U.S. should, at the very least, give pause to those who now seem to be looking to it as a possible source of guidance, or to be lending it the prestige of their names. In this regard, Cato's prescriptions pose a special danger for the Republican party, where libertarians have already established a position of authority on issues of purely domestic concern. Much as the New Left did with the Democratic party a generation ago, libertarians today stand ready to infuse the GOP with their ideas on the proper conduct of American foreign policy. Especially in light of the ignominious role played by Cato in the long and arduous struggle of the cold war, this would be a sad development indeed for a party that did so much to help bring that conflict to a close.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUSIC

The New Tonalists

Terry Teachout

A CHAPTER in the history of American classical music is quietly drawing to a close, and—though unknown to most music lovers—another has already opened.

For the past fifteen years, a group of American composers, collectively known as the minimalists, has dominated the new-music scene. Their works, immediately recognizable by the use of endlessly repeated melodic fragments and slow-moving harmonic sequences, have been performed by first-tier orchestras, opera companies, and chamber ensembles, recorded by major labels, fought over by critics, and imitated by students. They are the first classical composers since the 40's to have achieved broad-based popularity, and as such, they have set the tone for contemporary classical music in America, and more recently in Europe as well.

But while these composers—the best-known of whom are Philip Glass, Steve Reich, and John Adams—remain active, they are no longer the sole source of creative vitality in American musical life. The past years have seen the emergence of a clutch of younger composers, all born since 1945, who have turned their backs on minimalism. Their music, too, is being performed, and in many cases recorded, by the symphony orchestras of Atlanta, Baltimore, Denver, Houston, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Seattle, and other cities here and abroad; it is receiving increasingly respectful critical attention; and it is drawing audiences in steadily growing numbers.

Who are these composers? How good is the music they write? What does their arrival portend? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to take a quick look backward at the musical course of our century.

HISTORY IS written by the victors. Until recently, the received version of the modern movement in classical music has reflected the prejudices of those modernist composers who controlled the musical establishment from the late 1950's until the advent of minimalism two decades later. Their ideology—an ideology of revolt against tradition—continues to distort our understanding of how modern music actually developed, and why it finally reached a dead end.

Contrary to the received wisdom, musical modernism at its inception represented a revolt not against tradition in general but against German Romanticism in particular. By the end of the 19th century, Richard Wagner, the quintessential German Romantic composer, had become the dominant, style-setting figure of the age, a fixed star by which all progressive musicians navigated. But Wagner's example proved to be not liberating but stifling. To many ambitious young composers at the turn of the century, his operas were too long, too loud, too lavishly orchestrated, too self-absorbed, and above all—at least for the non-Germans among them—too German.

It was a Frenchman, Claude Debussy, who led the revolt against Wagnerism. Starting with *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (1892-94), Debussy moved away from Wagner's oppressively hyperchromatic harmonic language, creating a more open and flexible form of tonal or-

TERRY TEACHOUT *is* COMMENTARY'S *music critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ganization that served as a model for succeeding generations who wished to work within the classical tradition without slavishly aping German models.

It was largely because of Debussy, who happened to be an intense French nationalist, that no "international style" emerged during the first decades of musical modernism. Instead, composers adopted widely varied styles which, though recognizably modern in their use of the expanded language of post-Debussyan tonality, were also rooted in the melodic and rhythmic inflections of specific cultures. Virtually without exception, the key figures of the modern movement, from Hungary's Béla Bartók to America's Aaron Copland, wrote music that vividly reflected their diverse origins; even Igor Stravinsky, who spent much time and energy denying his heritage and claiming to be a musical cosmopolitan, was Russian to the core.

By the 30's, the new harmonic worlds discovered by Debussy had been explored to their uttermost limits. Indeed, it seemed possible that all subsequent stylistic developments in classical music would take place within the framework of tonal modernism. Perhaps the most eloquent statement of this belief was by the German modernist Paul Hindemith:

> Music has now entered the phase of its life that corresponds with the natural permanent state of poetry. . . . Everybody who understands the national language of a writer knows his poetic material of construction thoroughly. Yet poetry has not come to an end, and never will, so long as there are spoken and intelligible languages. Why, then, should music have reached the final epochs of its existence after all the material of harmonic construction is equally well known?

That the essentially conservative modernism of Hindemith, Stravinsky, and their contemporaries was, in fact, an outgrowth of the classical tradition is proved by the fact that so many of the numerous works they composed between 1930 and 1945 have long since entered the standard repertoire. Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* (1930), Ralph Vaughan Williams's Fourth Symphony (1934), Sergei Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet* (1935-36), Bartók's Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta (1936), Dmitri Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony (1937), Francis Poulenc's Organ Concerto (1938), Samuel Barber's Violin Concerto (1939), Hindemith's *The Four Temperaments* (1940), Copland's *Appalachian Spring* (1944), Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes* (1945)—all these masterpieces date from a time when it seemed that modernism was here to stay.

BUT IN classical music, as in the other arts, there were really two modernisms—one conservative, the other profoundly radical—and the chief architect of the second modernism made it his life's work to subvert the first.

Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) was a German Romantic turned modernist who, unlike his contemporaries, refused to accept that German and Austrian composers would no longer chart the course of classical music. Initially, the young Schoenberg sought to restore German musical hegemony by extending Wagner's hyperchromatic harmonic vocabulary. But the unexpected result of this experiment was that traditional tonality, already stretched to the breaking point in Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* (1899), *Gurrelieder* (1900-11), and *Pelleas und Melisande* (1903), dissolved altogether in the finale of the Second String Quartet (1907-08) and the song cycle *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten* (1908-09). These are the first pieces of modern classical music that can properly be called nontonal—or, to use the generally accepted term, atonal.

Schoenberg spent the next decade working out the implications of his discovery in such influential compositions as *Pierrot lunaire* (1912). But he eventually found atonality too unstable to serve as a basis for formally coherent musical works. What was needed was a more systematic approach to composition, one that would integrate atonal harmony with the precisely articulated formal structures of the Austro-German classical tradition. To that end, he invented in 1920 the method now known as serialism, in which the twelve tones of the chromatic scale are arranged in "rows" whose various permutations provide the material for large-scale, nontonal compositions.

For Schoenberg, serialism was not merely a source of creative renewal but also a means of reversing the trend that had toppled Central European composers from their position of absolute stylistic dominance. In serialism, he boasted, "I have discovered something that will ensure the supremacy of German music for the next hundred years." But he attracted only two disciples of importance, Alban Berg and Anton Webern, and both men, like their teacher, were Viennese. Elsewhere, serialism was dismissed as a solution to a problem that did not exist. The vast majority of concertgoers throughout Europe and America detested serial music, finding it sterile and nonsensical, and the rest of the modern movement continued to embrace tonality.

ALL THIS changed, however, after 1945. The chaos into which the West had been plunged by World War II created an opening for cultural ideologues with comprehensive, world-ordering systems, and serialism filled the bill to perfection. Young composers, most notably Pierre Boulez in France and Milton Babbitt in the United States, took up Schoenberg's methods and applied them in an even more systematic manner than did the master.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soon it was being said that the triumph of serialism was historically inevitable, with Boulez going so far as to declare that "every musician who has not felt . . . the necessity of the serial language is USELESS."

The Marxian echoes of such rhetoric exercised a strong appeal to intellectuals (the art critic Clement Greenberg was then explaining the rise of abstract expressionism in broadly analogous terms). Similarly attractive, at least to academic scholars of music, was the mathematical rigor of serial technique. Thanks to Boulez and Babbitt, what had once been a style soon became a discipline, and one that could be taught to students much more easily than tonal modernism with its emphasis on stylistic diversity. By the 1960's, serialist composers had become ensconced on the faculties of America's most prestigious schools of music. In Europe, state-subsidized radio orchestras and new-music ensembles (especially England's BBC Symphony) adopted aggressively pro-serialist programming, to the point where younger tonal composers often found it all but impossible to get a hearing.

To revisit the postwar literature of serialism is to be struck by the smugness with which it proclaimed that the lineage of classical music descended not through the tonal modernists but through Schoenberg and his successors. Charles Wuorinen, for instance, wrote in 1979 that the tonal system "is no longer employed by serious composers of the mainstream," while the pianist and critic Charles Rosen claimed that those who continued to use tonality were "retreating from the ideal of original invention that has been imposed on art since the Renaissance."

These claims, as it happens, were no more valid two decades ago than they are today. Britten and Shostakovich continued to produce "original" tonal masterpieces well into the 70's, and many younger American composers of note, including Leonard Bernstein, John Corigliano, David Diamond, and Ned Rorem, also saw no reason to abandon tonality. At the same time, only one piece of serial music, Alban Berg's Violin Concerto (in which the tone row is manipulated in such a way as to permit pseudo-tonal effects), became part of the international concert repertoire; to this day, no other fully serial composition has been programmed regularly by star performers or embraced by more than a handful of listeners.

Nevertheless, the general perception in musical circles was that serialism had triumphed; even Stravinsky and Copland finally converted in old age. As more and more composers submitted to the method's lockstep discipline, the public, too, came to agree with this judgment—and it responded by, in effect, giving up on new music altogether.

PERHAPS FITTINGLY, it was a pupil of Arnold Schoenberg, the American composer John Cage, who did more than anyone else to undermine the serialist orthodoxy.

Unlike the serialists, who continued to believe in the validity of their own version of musical tradition, Cage believed in nothing. He was the first composer to transplant the anarchic credo of the Dada artist Marcel Duchamp into the rigidly ordered environment of late-modern classical music. Just as Duchamp had taken snow shovels and bicycle wheels and displayed them as "ready-made" sculptures, so did Cage tune twelve radios to different stations and call the resulting cacophony music; in 1952, he "composed" *4'33"*, a piece for any instrument or combination of instruments that consists solely of four minutes and 33 seconds' worth of silence.

Though Cage and his fellow avant-gardists were no more successful than the serialists in appealing to the public, their ideas foreshadowed the emergence of a new strain of musical thinking. Starting in the late 60's, a number of American composers became convinced that modernism, at least as it had come to be defined by the serialists, was at a dead end. Comparable conclusions were being drawn in the fields of writing and the visual arts. By the mid-70's, the term "postmodern" was being widely invoked to describe a new style in which the high moral seriousness and technical complexity of modernism were supplanted by a playful nihilism.

In music, the chief manifestation of this development was minimalism, developed more or less simultaneously by Steve Reich and Philip Glass.* Reich and Glass constructed their pieces out of simple melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic cells, repeated *ad infinitum* in gradually shifting patterns. The effect of their music was "tonal" in the limited sense that it was not atonal, but it did not constitute a genuine return to functional tonality. For the minimalists had no more use for the classical tradition than they did for modernism. Rather, they wrenched familiar devices from their traditional contexts, transplanting them into new settings for ironic effect.

The irony, however, rebounded. Hungry for new music that made sense, concertgoers took minimalism at face value, hearing in the compositions of Reich, Glass, and their younger follower John Adams not a distanced commentary on Western musical tradition but a comparatively straightforward use of tonal materials. Other young composers, having caught a glimpse of the once-forbidden delights of sold-out performances and respectable record sales, abandoned serialism for minimalism in droves.

As things inevitably turned out, minimalism, for all its surface flair, was musically too insubstantial to

* For a more detailed discussion of the rise of minimalism and other postmodern musical styles, see my article "Holy Minimalism" (COMMENTARY, April 1995).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appeal for very long either to listeners or to most composers. Once the novelty wore off, the underlying shallowness of content became all too apparent. What did not wear off, though, was the now-widespread conviction that serialism, far from having been historically necessary, had in fact represented a drastically wrong turn. For this reason, once minimalism ran its course, there would be no revival of that particular branch of modernism.

Instead, starting in the mid-80's, a new generation of American composers began producing scores influenced neither by serialism nor by minimalism but by the music of the long-unfashionable tonal modernists. Operating largely out of sight of the media, these "new tonalists" embarked on the task of going back to the future—of reattaching classical composition to the mainstream of musical tradition.

AMONG THE leading exponents of the new tonalism are ten young Americans: Daniel Asia, Richard Danielpour, Michael Daugherty, Elliott Goldenthal, Aaron Jay Kernis, Libby Larsen, Lowell Liebermann, Paul Moravec, Christopher Rouse, and George Tsontakis.* Though their music varies widely in style, all of them speak the language of tonality, and do so without irony or self-consciousness. This is what sets them apart from the postmodern movement: they are neither embarrassed nor paralyzed by tradition. Rather, they accept it as a given.

The new tonalists are similarly united in their rejection of the hermeticism of late modernism. Rather, they seek to compose serious music intelligible to the common listener, and they therefore tend to work in conventional forms, writing symphonies, operas, chamber music, and ballet and film scores (Elliott Goldenthal, for instance, scored *Batman Forever* and *Interview with the Vampire*). Some also make use of more contemporary stylistic developments; in *Jackie O* (1997), an opera based loosely on the life of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Michael Daugherty incorporates rock rhythms and instrumental techniques drawn from film and TV music.

Many of the characteristic features of the new tonalism can be heard in Paul Moravec's masterly Violin Sonata (1992). This 22-minute work, cast in standard three-movement sonata form (fast-slow-fast), opens with a striking high-register passage for violin, backed by a nervously fluttering piano figure that outlines the key of D in the dissonance-tinged manner of the tonal modernists. Yet Moravec uses post-Debussyan tonality not to comment retrospectively on an older style but to make a direct statement of his own. The writing for both violin and piano is resourceful but idiomatic—there are no avant-garde "special effects"—and the thematic material, especially in the contemplative slow movement, is richly melodic.

In evaluating the work of Moravec and his contemporaries, it is important to keep in mind that the new tonalism has existed as an identifiable idiom for just over a decade; many of its practitioners have yet to develop fully original styles of their own, and some are distinctive only to the extent that they are consistent in their borrowings. Richard Danielpour, Elliott Goldenthal, and Libby Larsen, for example, have produced numerous pieces which, though attractive and well-made, often fail to transcend their easily identifiable sources (Danielpour, whose music often bears an uncanny resemblance to that of Leonard Bernstein, is especially problematic in this regard). Others—Christopher Rouse and Aaron Jay Kernis being cases in point—are so concerned with making "big statements" that their music, striving for high seriousness, occasionally stumbles instead into portentous excess.

But several of the new tonalists have turned out scores that bode well for the long term. Despite their shared penchant for overstatement, Rouse and Kernis are composers of undeniable accomplishment. In addition, Moravec's Violin Sonata, George Tsontakis's Fourth String Quartet (1988), Daniel Asia's Third Symphony (1991), and Lowell Liebermann's Second Piano Concerto (1992) are all major musical statements, fully worthy of comparison (as is much of their recent work) with the music of Copland or Barber. No less interesting in his own witty, unassuming way is Michael Daugherty, whose *Jackie O*, though it suffers from Wayne Koestenbaum's pretentious libretto, is surely the work of a born theater composer.

PAUL HINDEMITH, it turns out, was right: classical music has not yet reached its final epoch. Now that the wreckage of serialism and the nihilist avant-garde have been cleared away, it can be seen that late modernism, together with its postmodernist coda, constituted nothing more than a hiatus in the continuity of a classical tradition that had run uninterrupted from the 17th century to the end of World War II.

The new tonalists are making it possible once again for American composers to walk in the paths blazed by the geniuses of that tradition. To be sure, we cannot yet say whether any of them is writing music that will permanently endure. But we can already say that because of their efforts, American classical music has recaptured the potential for greatness, and the masters of the future will stand on their shoulders.

* This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. Some new tonalists—most notably Jorge Martin, composer of *Beast and Superbeast*, a quartet of one-act chamber operas based on the short stories of Saki—do not appear here simply because their music has not yet been commercially recorded. For currently available recordings of representative works, see the discography on p. 57.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Tonalists on CD: A Select Discography

Daniel Asia (b. 1953): The Third Symphony (1991) can be heard in a recording by James Sedares and the Phoenix Symphony (New World Records 80447-2).

Richard Danielpour (b. 1956): The Concerto for Orchestra (1996) has been recorded by David Zinman and the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra (Sony Classical SK 62822).

Michael Daugherty (b. 1954): Houston Grand Opera's premiere production of *Jackie O* (1997) was recorded live for commercial release, conducted by Christopher Larkin (Argo 455 591-2ZH). Also available is *Metropolis Symphony* (1988-93), performed by David Zinman and the Baltimore Symphony (Argo 452 103-2ZH).

Elliott Goldenthal (b. 1954): *Fire Water Paper: A Vietnam Oratorio* (1993-95) has been recorded by Yo-Yo Ma, the Pacific Chorale, and the Pacific Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Carl St. Clair (Sony Classical SK 68368).

Aaron Jay Kernis (b. 1960): *Colored Field* (1994) has been recorded by Julie Ann Giacobassi, Alasdair Neale, and the San Francisco Symphony (Argo 448 174-2ZH).

Libby Larsen (b. 1950): The Third Symphony (1995) is available in a performance by Joel Revzen and the London Symphony (Koch International 3-7370-2H1).

Lowell Liebermann (b. 1961): Stephen Hough has recorded the Second Piano Concerto (1992) with the BBC Scottish Symphony conducted by the composer (Hyperion CDA66966).

Paul Moravec (b. 1957): The Sonata for Violin and Piano (1992) has been recorded by Maria Bachmann and Jon Klibonoff (Catalyst/BMG 09026-61824-2). Also available is *Circular Dreams* (1991), performed by the Carnegie Chamber Players (CRI CD 641).

Christopher Rouse (b. 1949): The Second Symphony (1994) can be heard with the Houston Symphony conducted by Christoph Eschenbach (Telarc CD-80452).

George Tsontakis (b. 1951): The Fourth String Quartet (1988) has been recorded by the American String Quartet (New World Records 80414-2). Also available are *Four Symphonic Quartets* (1992-96), performed by James DePreist and the Orchestre Philharmonique de Monte-Carlo (Koch International 3-7384-2-H1).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

An Odd Greatness

Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader
by Dinesh D'Souza
Free Press. 292 pp. $25.00

Reviewed by
James Nuechterlein

RONALD REAGAN, who was lucky in so many things, was perhaps luckiest of all in his enemies. From the beginning to the end of his remarkably successful political career, they never ceased to underestimate him. The persistent idea that he was an "amiable dunce" (Clark Clifford's phrase), captive to an absurd and rigid ideology, meant that for the most part it did not take much for him to appear statesmanlike.

That used to puzzle me. Why would otherwise smart people be so foolish as to let their opponent beat them on the cheap? In reading Dinesh D'Souza's spirited if uneven survey of the Reagan presidency, the answer becomes clear. To his liberal adversaries, especially the intellectuals among them, a man who held to Reagan's fundamental conservative beliefs—and who did so without ambivalence or qualification—could not be *other* than a dunce. But it was not just liberals who thought in this way. Even many of Reagan's own associates wondered at his success. "He knows so little," remarked Robert McFarlane, his National Security Adviser, "and accomplishes so much."

He did indeed accomplish much, as D'Souza chronicles in a brisk set of topical chapters skimming the highlights of Reagan's White House years. After weathering a severe recession, the economy, spurred by a controversial tax-cut program that Reagan steered through Congress with flair and skill, took off in 1983 on the longest peacetime expansion in American history. Leaving behind the stagflation of the 1970's, the economy grew steadily over the next seven years, while inflation, unemployment, and interest rates all declined.

Reagan's success in international affairs was equally dramatic, reversing the decline of the 70's when, as D'Souza notes, the USSR had gained a nuclear advantage over the U.S. and brought nine nations under its imperial sway. Although the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet empire came after Reagan had left office, it was his administration that prepared the ground for victory in the cold war by restoring American leadership both militarily and politically.

But no list of specific achievements can quite do justice to the Reagan presidency. As D'Souza indicates in a sometimes shrewd, sometimes superficial account, Reagan revived the spirit of his nation, his party, and his cause. Indeed, he revived the presidency itself: it is easy to forget how pervasive the notion had become, in the wake of poisonous disagreements over Vietnam, racial disunity, the Watergate scandal, and the stumblings of the Ford and Carter administrations, that America was essentially ungovernable. Reagan's program of conservative restoration, summarized in his invocation of family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom, ended the national

JAMES NUECHTERLEIN *is the editor of* First Things.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

malaise, while also bringing his own party to the verge of political ascendancy.

Finally, well before the demise of socialism, Reagan helped to transform the terms of debate of American politics. For the half-century following the New Deal, Americans had been taught to look to the federal government as the guarantor of economic health and security. Reagan's counterrevolution not only frustrated the Left's long-nurtured ambition to expand America's modest welfare state into a social-democratic redistributive regime, it revitalized faith in such traditional and presumably outmoded traits as individualism, private enterprise, voluntarism, and personal responsibility.

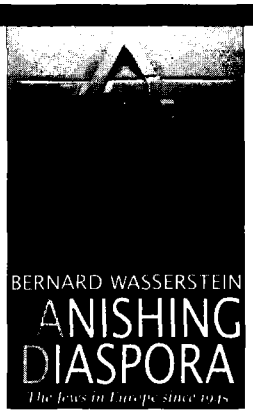
Given all this, it comes as no surprise that a conservative analyst like D'Souza (his previous books are *Illiberal Education* and *The End of Racism*) should conclude that Reagan was "not merely a successful President" but a "truly great" one. Indeed, D'Souza boldly ranks him as equal in achievement to Franklin D. Roosevelt and surpassed only by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. That is a very large claim, and the arguments against it, as D'Souza concedes, cannot be put down simply to ideological prejudice.

As Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. famously said of FDR, Reagan was a first-rate temperament, but a second-rate intellect. He held to his ideology in ways that could be as simplistic as his critics charged. He was sometimes shockingly ignorant and ill-informed, and he lacked FDR's saving grace of intellectual curiosity. Not only was there much he did not know, but much he thought he knew was not so. His work habits, too, were less than heroic, and sometimes—as in the Iran-*contra* fiasco—he took a hands-off management style to the point of irresponsibility. From the point of view of his conservative supporters, perhaps most damaging of all was that he could not always be relied upon to carry through on his own principles. Despite his inveighings against the evils of big government, the size of government grew relentlessly during his term of office; despite his convictions about the evils of the "evil empire," his dealings with the Soviet Union, its allies, and its clients could be surprisingly inconsistent.

Yet despite all this, Reagan was undoubtedly, as D'Souza's subtitle suggests, an extraordinary leader, though unfortunately D'Souza is not as helpful as he might be in explaining the why and how of it. Thus, in his key analytical chapter, "Spirit of a Leader," he categorizes the qualities that make for success in this realm under the headings of "vision," "action," and "consent." Reagan, according to D'Souza, knew where he wanted to go; he was willing to act "even in the absence of full information"; and he had the ability to articulate his vision "in order to rally the people behind it." Explanation at this level of generalized banality explains nothing.

The most important psychological fact about Ronald Reagan is that he had the healthiest ego of any President in memory. His was a remarkably well-integrated personality; the nearest thing to a disability was his emotional reserve, the psychic distance he maintained from those around him. That, however, is a common trait of charismatic leadership, which often pays a price, and exacts a cost, in personal intimacy.

Reagan's well-grounded ego never got in the way of his policies. He did not personalize political differences, and he did not bear grudges. Among the American people, his projection of strength and non-egomaniacal self-confidence engendered feelings of great trust. This was true even for those opposed to or skeptical of his policies. People liked him despite themselves.



Vanishing Diaspora
The Jews in Europe Since 1945
BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

"Wasserstein...is among the first to examine postwar European Jewish history as a whole, from England to Russia, and compel us to recognize the breadth of this unfolding tragedy."
—Joshua Rubenstein, WALL STREET JOURNAL
$15.95 paper

People of the Book
Canon, Meaning, and Authority
MOSHE HALBERTAL

People of the Book offers the best introduction available to Jewish hermeneutics, a book capable of conveying the importance of the tradition to a wide audience of both academic and general readers. With a gift for weaving complex issues of interpretation into his own plot, he animates ancient texts and sheds light on their role in Jewish life.
$18.95 paper • $35.00 cloth

Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic
Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel
FRANK MOORE CROSS

"The essays in this study are all written with the complementary breadth of scope and attention to detail characteristic of Cross; each one is stimulating and several are a mine of information beyond the confines of the essay's topic."
—Bezalel Porten, JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION
$18.95 paper

Harvard University Press
800 448 2242 • www.hup.harvard.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Critics dismissed much of this as an actor's tricks. The whole thing was scripted, they said. And so, in a sense, it was. All Presidents "play" the presidency as a role, some better and more believably than others. Reagan, as D'Souza rightly emphasizes, was among the best. When the occasion demanded—think of his speech commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Allied landings at Normandy—he brought to the public functions of the presidency an eloquence, emotion, and charm that ennobled the occasion and the office alike. His enemies understood this, however much it may have chagrined them.

In the end, however, it was not Hollywood skills but real strength of character that made Reagan extraordinary, and that allowed him, in D'Souza's nice phrase, to "run against the 20th century." Blithely he contradicted the dominant assumption of contemporary political thought that ever-increasing government activity was both inexorable and beneficial, and blithely he ignored the near-universal belief that the U.S. had no choice but to live indefinitely with the Soviet empire. On the issues that mattered to him, he made his own decisions, even when—as in the case of the Strategic Defense Initiative—it meant going against the virtually unanimous opinion of his advisers. In shorthand terms, one might say that the key to Reagan's success was that—contrary to virtually every other political figure of his age—he had the serenity genuinely not to care what the *New York Times* thought of him.

On most issues, most of the time, Reagan had extraordinary political judgment. And on most issues, most of the time, that judgment was in accord with the feelings of his fellow citizens. Indeed, to speak of Reagan's political judgment is to remember what William F. Buckley, Jr. meant when he remarked that he would rather be governed by the first 2,000 names in the Boston phone book than by the Harvard faculty. Reagan had an almost preternatural hold on the Middle American mind, and so it is hardly a wonder that despite the Iran-*contra* scandal shadowing the last years of his presidency, he left office, according to Gallup, as the most admired citizen of the nation, and with the highest approval ratings of any President in the modern era.

DINESH D'SOUZA's book touches on virtually everything that needs to be said about the Reagan presidency, but one wishes for more focus, tightness, and penetration. The moments of insight are unevenly scattered, the prose serviceable but for the most part unarresting; there is also a dying fall, in the form of a disjointed epilogue that bemoans to no particular effect the fate of post-Reagan conservatism. In the end, *Ronald Reagan* strikes one as either too short or too long: too short to offer historical depth or ballast, too long to justify its essay-length argument. But it is a useful book nonetheless, and its provocative argument for Reagan's greatness opens a necessary and complicated debate.

Certainly, Reagan's was an *odd* greatness, the greatness of one whose unprepossessing intelligence and uncluttered ego made him appear simpler than he was: they made him seem ordinary. But his extraordinary record of achievement suggests that in this apparently uncunning man, history nurtured a most cunning agent.

ANNOUNCING THE 1998 PHILLIPS FOUNDATION JOURNALISM FELLOWSHIP

• WORKING JOURNALISTS ELIGIBLE •
FOR $50,000

If you are a working print journalist with less than five years of professional experience, a unique opportunity awaits - the chance to apply for a grant to complete a one-year project of your choosing, focusing on journalism supportive of American culture and a free society. The Foundation offers one $50,000 full-time and two $25,000 part-time fellowships.

Founded in 1990, the Phillips Foundation is a nonprofit organization whose purpose is to advance the cause of objective journalism. The Foundation's fellowship program serves to provide support for journalists who share the Foundation's mission: to advance constitutional principles, a democratic society and a vibrant free enterprise system.

Applications are now being accepted for the 1998 Phillips Foundation Journalism Fellowships. Applications must be postmarked by March 1, 1998. The winners will be announced at an awards dinner in Washington in the Spring. The fellowship will begin on September 1, 1998. Applicants must be U.S. citizens.

For applications and more information, write:
Mr. John Farley
THE PHILLIPS FOUNDATION
7811 Montrose Road, Potomac, Maryland 20854
Telephone (301) 340-2100
E-mail: jfarley@phillips.com
Deadline: March 1, 1998

Recovery

Drawing Life:
Surviving the Unabomber
by David Gelernter
Free Press. 159 pp. $21.00

Reviewed by
Ruth R. Wisse

IN JUNE 1993, David Gelernter, a professor of computer science at Yale, received a unique summons to consider the problem of evil in America: a parcel addressed to him by an unknown person exploded upon opening, with a force that was intended to kill him. Had he not picked himself up, walked down the five flights from his office, and made his way to the campus infirmary, he would have bled to death. In his studies of pain, the psychologist Ronald Melzack cites the experience of soldiers who, severely maimed, do not feel their wounds as long as they are still engaged in battle. Gelernter, singing Zionist marching songs to himself as he propelled his bleeding form across campus, had

RUTH R. WISSE, *whose essays and reviews appear regularly in these pages, is professor of Yiddish literature and comparative literature at Harvard.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just been conscripted into a civilian war.

Gelernter was a target of the man the FBI would dub the Unabomber, but whom he with greater wit calls "Hut Man" or (on account of his assailant's advertised hatred of technology) "Mr. Bucolic-in-the-Countryside." By the time the FBI arrested the culprit three years later, he had managed in all to kill three of his "enemies" and to wound dozens. But in Gelernter he had made a particularly unfortunate choice. For one thing, this computer scientist was on record as himself distrusting technology, a fact that inconveniently spoiled his attacker's claim to ideological probity. But Hut Man's real mistake lay in having accidentally trained his sights on a fighter.

While Gelernter was still in intensive care, his favored right hand almost completely destroyed by the blast, his mother predicted he would soon be writing his story. In *Drawing Life*, he has done that and more. If the Unabomber blew up people to promote his political agenda, Gelernter is trying to use the publicity gained from the crime to reconstruct an entire system of values. This book, a kind of *Patient's Progress*, is an extended essay by one who has traversed the Slough of Despond and emerged with an integrated view of matters physical, spiritual, and national. Gelernter writes of himself that "a man who has been blown up by a bomb is a mess, and it's much harder to put things back together than smash them up." Out of this lyrical and improbably funny story of his own slow recovery, he means for us to learn that, by dint of analogous resolve, America, too, might be put back together again.

Not that the job will be easy. Next to his family and the medical professionals, Gelernter credits the FBI with helping him to rebuild his life, not just for the security it provided against further attacks by the still-unapprehended criminal but for its assurance that evil *would* be apprehended. When a man is attacked for no apparent reason, he needs to have not just his body but his moral equilibrium restored, and this, because it depends on society as a whole, can be the harder task.

For suppose, by analogy, that Gelernter's doctors had not recognized the difference between sound and broken bones, and had simply swathed him in laundered sheets as a sign of their tender concern. That, in effect, is how Gelernter feels about being treated by the press as a "victim." Under the banner of kindness, he writes, the media would have preferred his damage to be permanent, and him a permanent object of solicitude. His own view is otherwise: "Self-pity is a pile of bricks on your chest, and your real friends help you heave it off."

Just as the media, standing in for American culture at large, were eager to conscript him into the ranks of victimhood, so, when it came to his would-be murderer, were they eager to dissolve the categories of moral and criminal responsibility. *People* magazine included the Unabomber among a list of top twenty celebrities. A newspaper op-ed piece, entitled "A Terrorist and His Target: A Debate Between the Unabomber and the Pro-Technology Professor," juxtaposed quotations from the murderer's manifestos with snippets from Gelernter's books, implicitly suggesting that the impulse to kill was just another opinion, as legitimate as any other.

"Where does our perversity come from?" Gelernter asks, referring not just to his own case but to a wider American disease. He does not hesitate to supply an answer. The poi-

Modern Editions of Classic Works for Today's Readers

The Virtue of Civility
Selected Essays on Liberalism, Tradition, and Civil Society
By Edward Shils
Edited by Steven Grosby

Edward Shils (1920–1995) was one of the leading intellectual defenders of freedom in the twentieth century. Learned in history, politics, literature, economics, theology, and legal history, he taught for many years at the University of Chicago's Committee on Social Thought and at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. In these nine essays, Shils explores the importance of civility and tradition to a free society. The essays' significance is enormous, for Shils was one of the first and assuredly one of the most courageous writers to examine the natures of civility and civil society and their relation to a free, ordered, liberal democratic society. As H.R. Trevor-Roper has written, "Deeply concerned for the Western values of rationality, freedom, and progress, Shils was dismayed by the threat which they now faced: the threat posed by the absolute individualism into which Western Liberalism had degenerated." Among the essays are "Tradition and Liberty: Antinomy and Interdependence," "Max Weber and the World Since 1920," and "The Modern University and Liberal Democracy."

395 + xv pages. Introduction, editor's note, acknowledgments, bibliography.

Hardback	0-86597-147-1	$16.00
Paperback	0-86597-148-X	$ 8.00

Call 800-955-8335
Fax 317-579-6060
or write:

Liberty Fund

We pay UPS shipping on prepaid orders.

8335 Allison Pointe Trail, Suite 300, Dept. NEW7, Indianapolis, IN 46250
Explore Liberty Fund's catalogue on the World Wide Web at www.Libertyfund.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son, he says, is spread by intellectuals: intellectuals are against the making of moral discriminations; intellectuals prefer a taffy tolerance to justice; intellectuals think the worst of their society, and are well-disposed to schemes for undoing it. The moral corruption of America can be traced, Gelernter holds, to that point in the 1960's when the New Class, led by intellectuals, took over our elite institutions and thence our cultural discourse.

To bolster his case, Gelernter offers a not-unfamiliar account of how, after World War II, the elite universities that had once served as civilizing schools for the upper classes began systematically to emphasize intellect over wealth or pedigree as the main criterion of admission. It is common to salute this shift as a sign of liberal progress, and so it was. But Gelernter points to a complication: intellectuals do not like "organized religion, the military, social constraints on sexual behavior, traditional sex roles and family structures, formality or fancy dress or good manners, authority in general." In other words, intellect, promoted at the expense of other powerful social values, can corrupt the institutions it is invited to improve.

I am sympathetic to this thesis. For one thing, it echoes my mother's herring-bred wisdom, *es shtink funem kop, nisht funem ek*: the stench emanates from the head, not from the tail. For another, having lately become a member of the Harvard community, I feel around me, just as Gelernter evidently does at Yale, the corrosive force of well-intentioned people with poor ideas who wield enormous public influence without bearing a commensurate responsibility for the consequences of their words. And he is, I believe, right in many of his specific contentions: for example, that the feminist revolution, spearheaded by the elite universities, is destroying the family, an institution even more necessary to women than to men. He is also right about multiculturalism, another invention of intellectuals, which stifles dissent under the guise of fostering it. If intellectuals cannot be blamed for having created the Unabomber, they can certainly be blamed not only for the "ideas" he espoused but for the climate of opinion that would make him a party to a gentlemanly debate.

YET GELERNTER himself suspects that his diagnosis is imprecise. He writes: "I made up these theories the way a person scratches an itch, not with cool detachment but in order to solve a pressing personal problem." In identifying where it itches, he may not have gotten quite personal enough.

While his analysis of America's moral decline adds a fresh, distinctive voice to the ranks of cultural critics like Robert H. Bork and William J. Bennett, Gelernter's theory also seems driven by a special concern. In *Drawing Life*, he writes as, among other things, a Jew, and the role of specifically Jewish intellectuals in disseminating the ideas he deplores—a very complicated and delicate subject—occasionally obtrudes as an issue. This, indeed, is something that readers found disturbing when an earlier version of Gelernter's thesis appeared in COMMENTARY ("How the Intellectuals Took Over—And What to Do About It," March 1997). There he spoke of Jews as a "dye marker" of the new intellectual class, prompting more than one reader (see the "Letters" section for June 1997) to wonder whether his analysis was not "approaching anti-Semitism."

As it happens, quite the opposite is the case. Gelernter is one of the most relaxed Jews ever to enter American public debate; he invokes his own Jewishness with perfect ease and poise, and, it seems important to add, out of a deep familiarity with Jewish tradition. One might even say that, as a responsible Jew and a responsible American, he was *obliged* to take up a problem that happens to plague his own community. Why, indeed, are so many distinguished and educated Jews so eager to spread the cult of victimhood (including, in some cases, the cult of Jewish victimhood), and why do not more Jews teach, uphold, and practice the powerful moral strictures of their own religious civilization? As if to illustrate Gelernter's thesis, among the virtues of the Jews extolled in the welcoming film of the newly-opened Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City is that they are "nonjudgmental." Is it to such an end that Jews have been carrying God's law since the time of Moses?

STILL, WHATEVER the reasons for the moral deterioration of America, even among Jews it cannot be attributed to intellectual influence alone. Democracy, affluence, mass education, television, longevity, mobility, and peaceful borders are only some of the many benefits of American life that help lull the moral impulse to sleep. Nor, more importantly, is intellectuality itself a one-way street.

Consider, for example, those Zionist marching songs Gelernter sang on his way to the infirmary; they were the products of a movement conceived, fueled, and executed by intellectuals. Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, Ahad Ha'am, Chaim Weizmann, and Vladimir Jabotinsky, all living the life of the unencumbered mind (and all in flight from their religious tradition), led a movement *against* national victimization, and for national self-emancipation. What distinguished them from their callower counterparts among Jewish intellectuals was, simply put, the better content of their ideas.

If Zionist intellectuals avoided some of the pitfalls of their "profession," they did so first and foremost by assuming responsibility for their own people. Thereby they avoided the worst temptations, and worst abuses, of what Lionel Trilling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would call the "adversary culture." For it is the adversarial posture of intellectuals, not their intellectuality, that corrupts both the mind and democratic society alike. This is one of the themes of Trilling's 1947 novel, *The Middle of the Journey*, the most incisive American work I know about the perils of intellectual corruption; oddly enough, like *Drawing Life*, it too proceeds from the story of a recovery from near-fatal illness.

The point is that good and bad ideas are in open competition, and it is up to those who honor the distinction to expose the nihilism that would deny it. Gelernter's book, which embodies precisely such a healthy impulse, is the work of one young intellectual who is determined to repair the harm that other intellectuals have wrought. Though David Gelernter is unusual, even miraculous, he is not alone; and though the odds are still, frankly, against the project's succeeding, this boisterous account of a return from the shadow of death can prompt, even in a hardened skeptic, fresh hopes for the country and its culture.

Waste Management

Underworld
by Don DeLillo
Scribner. 827 pp. $27.50

Reviewed by
Daniel J. Silver

After a long, wearying preoccupation with "minimalism," it seems that American fiction has begun to return to more ambitious subjects. From the unwieldy, multi-pound tomes of William Gaddis (*A Frolic of His Own*), David Foster Wallace (*Infinite Jest*), and Thomas Pynchon (*Mason & Dixon*), to the tighter and more disciplined works of Philip Roth (*American Pastoral*) and John Updike (*In the Beauty of the Lilies*), novelists of varying power and quality have recently been showing a renewed interest in the larger experience of their country and their time.

In principle, this is a welcome development. Minimalism, which, in the hands of a writer like the late Raymond Carver, could at its best achieve a certain haunted grace, had degenerated into a mannered, suffocating idiom, and a return to a more invigorating sense of public and communal life was something much to be desired. The problem, of course, is that it is not enough for novelists to have grand ambitions; they must have talents to match.

Consider the case of Don DeLillo, whose latest novel, *Underworld*, at over 800 pages, is his longest and most ambitious to date. A gifted writer now in his early sixties, free both of the bombast of a Norman Mailer and the hermeticism of a Pynchon, DeLillo has built a solid critical reputation and has begun to enjoy a growing influence with readers. The best of his ten previous novels—they include *The Names* (1982) and *White Noise* (1985)—are virtuoso dissections of contemporary American anomie, half-poignant, half-funny portraits of an enameled society in which ties of family, neighborhood, and religion have melted away. In *Libra* (1988), DeLillo moved into new fictional territory, constructing a narrative edifice upon some of the wilder conspiracy theories surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy, and adding his own to the mix; for this act of literary speculation, he drew the fire of the columnist George F. Will but also the interest of enough readers to help the

Daniel J. Silver *writes about literature and culture for* Commentary *and a number of other publications.*

TOWARD THE INQUISITION

B. NETANYAHU

One of the world's foremost scholars in the fields of Spanish and Jewish medieval history, B. Netanyahu revolutionized accepted belief concerning the causes of the Spanish Inquisition in his magisterial volume of 1995, *The Origins of the Inquisition*.

Toward the Inquisition is another major contribution to this historiographic revolution. Made up of seven of Netanyahu's essays, published over the last two decades and collected here for the first time, it further illuminates Jewish and Marrano history from the mid-fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century.

Essays on Jewish and Converso History in Late Medieval Spain

www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

$32.50
At bookstores, or call (800) 666-2211

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
SAGE HOUSE • 512 EAST STATE STREET • ITHACA, NY 14850

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

book, briefly, onto the best-seller lists.

Underworld, too, is about actual events. It began life as a novella, "Pafko at the Wall," Pafko being the Brooklyn Dodger outfielder who on October 3, 1951, watched helplessly as a ball hit by Bobby Thomson of the New York Giants caromed off the foul pole at the Polo Grounds and fell into the lower deck for a pennant-winning home run. It turns out that, on the same date as this "Shot Heard 'Round the World," the United States government learned that the Soviet Union had conducted its second nuclear test at a site in Kazakhstan. The two events garnered side-by-side headlines in the following day's *New York Times*.

As DeLillo has explained to interviewers, this juxtaposition, which he discovered when researching news reports of the game, struck him as pregnant with meaning. The celebration that followed the game was, for him, the country's last public event full of joy and life. Thereafter, American spectacles would be paeans to death, shadowed always by the specter of the bomb.

THE NOVEL'S plot, such as it is, follows from this central "insight," meandering through a bewildering maze of chronological displacements and bringing together characters with only the most tangential relationship to each other. The opening section—a reworking of the novella—tracks the adventures of Cotter Martin, a black boy from the Bronx who skips school to sneak into the ballpark on the fateful day and manages to scoop up the home-run ball. Later that night, Cotter's unemployed father swipes the ball and sells it at Yankee Stadium to a fan waiting in line to get tickets for the World Series. The fan, in turn, presents the ball to his son, a malign, disaffected boy who fails to appreciate the gesture and who appears later in the novel as a callous airman thoughtlessly dropping napalm from his B-52 during the Vietnam war. His plane, in *its* turn, is mothballed in the New Mexico desert, where it becomes a giant canvas for Klara Sax, an artist inspired by the exuberant graffiti of a section in the Bronx that—to complete the circle—is not far from where Cotter Martin once lived.

The closest thing to a protagonist in the novel is a character named Nick Shay, who was also born and raised not far away. As a young man, Nick enjoys two afternoon trysts with Klara, who was then the bored wife of his high-school science teacher, a kind of Italian-American *luftmensch* and chess tutor to Nick's younger brother, Matty. Matty will become involved with the atom bomb as a risk analyst at Los Alamos. It is Nick who, in the present time of the novel, has inherited the famous home-run ball. And so forth.

WHAT IS this dizzying whirl all about? DeLillo's *leitmotif* is the idea of waste, of lives built in response to the importunings of garbage. Nick Shay himself is an executive with a "waste-management" firm. Working as a consultant for the firm is a self-styled "garbage theorist," a one-time political radical who used to scour the refuse of establishment figures in order to expose their secrets. The consultant has now come to believe that garbage is not what we cast out, but the prime locus of meaning in our lives: we arrange our existences so as to make room for garbage.

This whimsical notion also seemingly embraces the place of the bomb in American consciousness. Not only has actual nuclear waste become a terrible problem, but the very idea of nuclear war—of devastation on so immense a scale—is a form of virtual waste. In these many ways, DeLillo seems to be saying, Americans ordered their lives during the long cold war to accommodate the ever-present possibility of total destruction, that is, of their own "wasting." In making way for the bomb, we pushed aside all other sources of human meaning.

A NOVEL so patently fashioned on ideas, and out of ideas, can have power even if the ideas themselves are trite, or delusional, or false—and the ideas in this novel are all three. The real test is whether the ideas arise organically from what the characters do and think and say, and whether the characters themselves come to life on the page. Neither is the case in *Underworld*.

To be sure, the book brims with finely observed and finely rendered vignettes. DeLillo is a masterful mimic of voices and has a discerning eye for period flavor, from the street culture of the Bronx in the 1950's to the Soho art world of the 1980's; even the corporate ethos of Nick Shay's firm merits a lovingly nuanced portrayal. All this speaks to the polish and artistry of DeLillo's prose, but the sum of the parts, when it is not pointlessly vertiginous and disorientating, remains abstract, ungrounded, and emotionally hollow.

The characters in *Underworld*, in particular, are, for all the novel's length, woefully undeveloped. Nick Shay, the narrative center, is a blank slate. Growing up tough in the Bronx, he kills a man—probably by accident, though this is left open—and is sent to reform school. How or why he joins the waste-management firm and develops a taste for baseball memorabilia, we never learn. Nor, apart from being told that he tends to be disconnected from people and events, do we discover much about his psychological make-up. A potentially meaningful story about the disappearance of his father, a small-time numbers-runner who either (in Nick's fancied version) got rubbed out by the Mafia or just grew bored with family life, is mentioned in passing, lost in the noise of DeLillo's busy narrative fireworks.

WHICH, ONE wonders, is worse: infinitely minute and tedious explo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rations of the small pains of small people, the hallmark of the minimalist school, or disjointed runs at large subjects unsustained by imagination or, in the end, by a basic commitment to the artistic requirements of the novel? At least, in the case of minimalism, one's expectations are lower, and disappointments commensurately easier to bear. If *Underworld* is an example of what we are in for from our "big" novelists, it might be better, on the whole, if American writers continued to think small.

Turnaround?

The Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., L.A. and the Fate of America's Big Cities
by Fred Siegel
Free Press. 260 pp. $24.00

Reviewed by
Leslie Lenkowsky

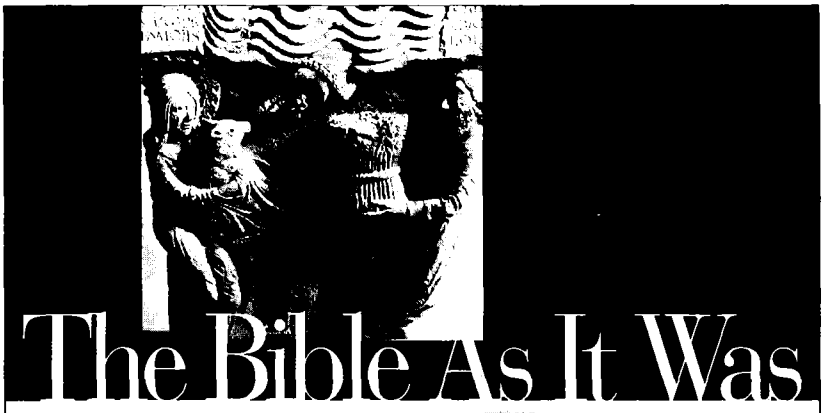
Once written off as obsolete, if not dead, America's big cities seem to be staging a comeback. Their economies are growing, their crime rates are falling, and their residents feel a renewed sense of optimism. Most tellingly perhaps, mayors like New York's Rudolph Giuliani, Indianapolis's Stephen Goldsmith, Chicago's Richard Daley, Philadelphia's Edward Rendell, and Milwaukee's John Norquist now top the list of the nation's most creative political leaders.

Yet, warns Fred Siegel, a longtime city-watcher, these signs may be deceptive. In *The Future Once Happened Here*, Siegel, a professor of history at the Cooper Union in New York City, offers a badly needed perspective on the condition of three of the nation's most important cities—New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D. C. Outward appearances notwithstanding, Siegel contends, the three are far from being the vibrant hubs they used to be, and many troubles still lie ahead for them.

Today's urban conditions, in Siegel's telling, can be traced to fundamental changes that occurred during the 1960's. Before that decade, the political cultures of New York, Los Angeles, and Washington were rooted in the aspirations of the working class, especially those of its members who were recent immigrants. Good schools, safe streets, parks and other places for recreation, and decent neighborhoods were what these urban dwellers wanted most, and by and large the political machines that ran the cities made sure they got them.

The 1960's, however, brought a new focus to urban government: helping the poor, and especially the black poor who had begun arriving in great numbers during the previous decade, at the expense of the working and middle classes. With the aid of considerable encouragement and money from Washington, coalitions of upper-income reformers and radical civil-rights activists managed to displace the old political machines and began implementing a variety of ill-considered schemes ostensibly aimed at alleviating the problem of poverty. These ranged from well-meaning but costly programs in education, job training, and social services to more controversial and confrontational efforts like promoting community control of schools or deliberately expanding the size of the welfare rolls. In ad-

Leslie Lenkowsky *is professor of philanthropic studies and public policy at Indiana University-Purdue University in Indianapolis.*


The Bible As It Was
JAMES KUGEL
"An extraordinary, pathbreaking scholarly achievement: an annotated anthology of interpretations of ancient interpretations of the Torah culled from hundreds of sources...This volume will be savored by both Jewish and Christian lovers of Scripture."
—KIRKUS REVIEWS
"Kugel is...much admired for his learning and originality. In this book he addresses not the biblical expert but the ordinary intelligent reader, and explains how the tradition of biblical interpretation was shaped by the earliest interpreters...[It] will interest all...who wish to deepen their understanding of the whole Bible."
—FRANK KERMODE
"James Kugel is one of the great scholars of biblical interpretation in our time, and from the day of its publication this book will become the indispensable classic in the field."
—PETER J. GOMES
Belknap Press Cloth
Harvard University Press
800-448-2242
www.hup.harvard.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dition, instead of keeping city hall squarely behind the working class, the new urban leadership frequently ignored or disparaged its views and interests as so many obstacles on the bright road ahead.

What came from all this is by now well-known. Everyone suffered: the poor, the working class, and the cities. For the poor, the myriad programs and policies aimed at helping them not only failed for the most part to do so but created behavioral incentives that actually impeded their upward mobility. The working and middle classes, no longer at home in their own cities, accelerated their migration to the suburbs, taking with them large numbers of jobs and industries. The nation's major cities rapidly became the nation's major embarrassments: increasingly uninhabitable, ungovernable, and unsupportable with or without massive infusions of state and federal aid.

HOW BIG a role in this decline was played by the politics of race? In Siegel's estimation, a significant one. As the civil-rights movement of the 1960's traveled from the rural South to the urban North, its own focus, which had been firmly fixed on eliminating barriers to equal opportunity, shifted instead toward the assertion of black political power. By holding out the threat of riots, like the ones that occurred in Los Angeles, Detroit, and other cities during the 1960's, black leaders added an element of sheer physical menace to their demands. Siegel goes so far as to suggest that the crime epidemic of the 1970's and 1980's can be seen as an implicit extension of this posture. Whether or not he is right, it is surely the case that the calculated use of violence and disorder as political tools made law-abiding residents of every background even more fearful of living in the urban core.

There's An
Old Southern
Saying...

~ William May Stern ~

A book of wit and wisdom that blends Norman Podhoretz's conservative world view and Woody Allen's sense of humor—with a distinctly Southern accent.

"An absolutely delightful collection of humorous and common sense sayings."

— The Tennessean

Paper • $13.95 • At bookstores, or call 910-672-6889

DOWN HOME PRESS

But just as the cities' decline can be linked to the repudiation of the values and interests of the middle class, so, Siegel argues, the reassertion of those same values and interests underlies the current urban revival. In New York City, this reassertion has taken the form, most conspicuously, of a concerted police effort to stamp out disorderly conduct and uphold once-traditional norms of behavior. Strong law enforcement has been a positive factor in Los Angeles, too (though also a source of problems), and so has the entrepreneurial spirit displayed by the city's upwardly striving Hispanic and Asian immigrants. In Washington, D.C., the picture is more ambiguous; change there has had to come from without, first through a congressionally-mandated "control board" that sought to force the bloated government of the nation's capital to live within its means, and more recently through federal legislation that has all but terminated the District's calamitous experiment in home rule.

YET WHILE the three cities now seem headed in the right direction, Siegel doubts they will succeed in recapturing their past glories. Their economies, he writes, remain too heavily burdened by high-cost, low-gain jobs in the social services and related fields. The politics of race and class, though less significant now than in the past, continue to tug at the social and political fabric. And with a tough new federal welfare law now in place, the cities face the difficult challenge of finding work for their least job-ready residents. In the face of these hazards, Siegel worries that urban leaders are likely to avoid more hard choices and accept a "slow decline."

Further adding to a sober outlook are factors Siegel does not dwell on. Thanks to changes in both federal and state policy (the increased use of block grants in the one case, new limits on local property taxes in the other) governors, legislators, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CULTURE AND POLITICS

transaction

THE TYRANNY OF RELATIVISM

CULTURE AND POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH SOCIETY

Richard Hoggart

With a new introduction by the author

"An awesomely magisterial look at the cultural state of English identity...there is something here to upset everybody."
—Nicholas Lazard, *The Guardian*

"Richard Hoggart is a national institution. *The Tyranny of Relativism* is 'good for you'...a rebuke a day keeps complacency away."
—Paul Barker, *The Times Literary Supplement*

1-56000-953-5 (paper) 352 pp. $21.95 / £14.95

FEDERALISM AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Aaron Wildavsky

Edited by David Schleicher and Brendon Swedlow

Foreword by Daniel J. Elazar

Focusing on American Federalism after the Great Society of the 1960s, this unconventional collection of essays deals with the meaning, function, and all-too-frequent abuse of the federalist system in the United States.

1-56000-316-2 (cloth) 140 pp. $29.95 / £19.95

NATIONAL CHARACTER

A PSYCHO-SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Alex Inkeles

"Current political events show that the issue of national differences in mindsets is as crucial as ever. Inkeles' work will continue to be a key resource for cross-cultural psychologists, comparative sociologists and anthropologists studying modern societies, for years to come."
—Geert Hofstede, Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation, The Netherlands

1-56000-260-3 (cloth) 532 pp. $49.95 / £32.95

THE ORDER OF RITUALS

THE INTERPRETATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Hans-Georg Soeffner

"A wide-ranging exploration of the rituals holding together modern societies....he looks at a wide range of contemporary rituals—from Pope John Paul II kissing the ground upon arrival in a new country, to meetings of heads-of-state, to the eccentric activities of pigeon-breeders....This is a very rewarding book, both for the insights it provides for the understanding of modern social order and for the sheer pleasure of some of its case studies."
—Peter L. Berger, Boston University

1-56000-184-4 (cloth) 224 pp. $32.95 / £21.95

Order from your bookstore or direct from the publisher toll-free 1-888-999-6778 or fax 732-445-3138.
Visit our website at http://www.transactionpub.com.

TRANSACTION PUBLISHERS

RUTGERS—THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY, DEPARTMENT A97CUP, NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ 08903
IN THE UK CALL BOOK REPRESENTATION AND DISTRIBUTION AT 01702-552912 OR FAX 01702-556095

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judges have been given more control over our cities, while mayors have been left accountable even as their hands have been tied.* This combination of circumstances has resulted in some of the worst disasters to befall urban life, such as the state-imposed requirement that New York City provide accommodations for anyone deemed "homeless." Unless city governments can regain some of the autonomy they have lost, their efforts at self-improvement will be stymied.

Another complicating factor is the backlash against immigration, driven in part by labor unions concerned about jobs and wages but affecting more and more areas of public policy. As Siegel demonstrates in his account of Los Angeles, the ongoing urban recovery depends pivotally on our continued ability to welcome and absorb large numbers of new residents intent upon working hard and getting ahead. A significant downturn in immigration (or, just as bad, the spread of an entitlement mindset among the new arrivals) could rob city life of much of its vitality, economic and otherwise.

And that leads to a larger point. Conventional wisdom now suggests that the turnaround we have seen in our distressed urban areas owes mostly to the nation's sustained economic prosperity. But as *The Future Once Happened Here* valuably shows, the economic climate of America's big cities ultimately depends on their moral climate. Only cities where diligence and striving are welcomed—and sloth, irresponsibility, and violence discouraged—will enter futures worth having.

* Indianapolis's Stephen Goldsmith, perhaps the most innovative of the new mayors, made an unsuccessful bid to capture his state's governorship precisely in the belief that he could more effectively deal with problems like welfare and education reform from the state house than from city hall. Goldsmith offers his own analysis of our urban dilemmas in his newly published *Twenty-First Century City* (Regnery, 250 pp., $24.95).

"The Indispensable Man"

Jackie Robinson
by Arnold Rampersad
Knopf. 512 pp. $27.50

Reviewed by
Donald Kagan

IT IS 50 years since Jack Roosevelt Robinson (1919-72) entered major-league baseball. Arnold Rampersad, a professor of literature and black studies at Princeton, has now written a biography that, balancing sympathy and admiration with fairness and objectivity, does justice both to Robinson's greatness as an athlete and to his role in the struggle for the rights and dignity of black Americans.

Jackie Robinson was indeed a great athlete. Raised by his mother in Pasadena, California, he went to UCLA, where he was a brilliant football and basketball player and a long-jumper who would surely have been in the Olympics had the 1940 games not been canceled by war. In major-league baseball, his eleven-year career with the Brooklyn Dodgers earned him the rare honor of election to the Hall of Fame in his first year of eligibility. He batted over .300 for six consecutive years, accumulating a lifetime average of .311. Twice he led the National League in stolen bases. In 1949, when he was named Most Valuable Player, he led the league not only in stolen bases but in batting, scoring 122 runs and driving in 124. Still more indicative of his achievement was his team's unprecedented success in the years of his fiery play; the Dodgers won six National League pennants and their only world championship.

But statistics, individual or team, are inadequate to convey Robinson's special qualities on the field. In the words of one of his coaches, quoted by Rampersad, he was "the indispensable man"; his peculiar verve and daring brought delight to the fans, inspiration to his fellow players, and confusion and despair to their opponents. Surely the most remarkable of his talents was running the bases, and no one who ever saw him in this activity will forget the unique sense of excitement he created. Robinson stole home—the rarest and unlikeliest of achievements in baseball—nineteen times in the course of his career, and he was an even greater threat to steal second or third. Whenever he was on base he unnerved the pitcher, the catcher, and the entire infield.

ROBINSON'S TALENTS as an athlete—to one sportswriter, he was "the owner of psychic, spiritual force, . . . [the] key guy, the very essence of truculence and heroism"—were a necessary prerequisite for the much greater contribution he made as the man who broke the color line in organized baseball. As Rampersad notes, defying and destroying that particular tradition was more important than it might seem. Not only was baseball the national sport, it was more widely publicized than many another national enterprise, and its heroes helped define what it was to be an American.

The injustice of racial discrimination in baseball was, moreover, blatant. Like most sports, the game of baseball is ruled by a strict code of evaluation: the results go up on a scoreboard for all to see. As baseball fans well knew, there were players in the Negro Leagues like Satchel Paige and Josh Gibson who had played in exhibition games against the greatest white players, excelled in the fastest company, and fully deserved a place in the big leagues.

Nevertheless, though the cause was just, the effort would not be easy. In Rampersad's estimation, credit for the undertaking goes first to Branch Rickey, president of the

DONALD KAGAN, *the author of* On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace, *is Hillhouse professor of history and classics at Yale and the university's sometime acting director of athletics.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Acclaim for *The Reader's Catalog*

A Book-of-the-Month Club Selection

"*The Reader's Catalog* is the best book without a plot."—*Newsweek*

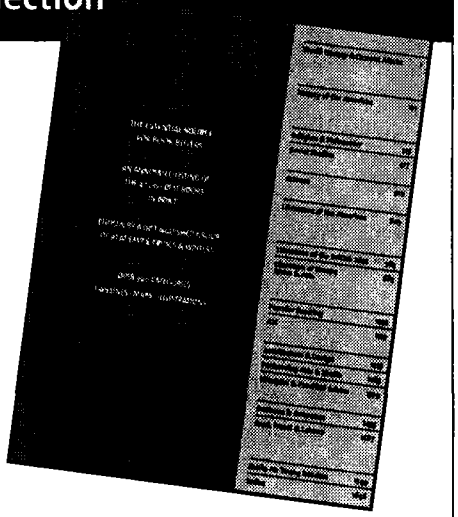
"The most attractively laid out and compactly informative guide that I know of to books that are currently in print."
—*The New York Times*

"A catalog of 40,000 distinguished titles, organized in 208 categories, for readers who hunger for the quality and variety available in today's mass-market bookstores. Hallelujah!"—*Time*

"A browser's paradise."
—*Library Journal*

"The scope of the endeavor is, as the kids are wont to say, awesome."
—*The Baltimore Sun*

"It must be called a triumph."
—*The Los Angeles Times*



"The catalog is discriminating yet expansive,
a feat of editing that anyone who has wasted time rooting out data in the weeds of the Internet will appreciate."
—*Newsday*

"A valuable literary tool that's not only a reader's resource, but also a browser's delight."
—*Parade Magazine*

"The best reading-group and book-store guide available."
—*Time Out*

YOUR GUIDE TO THE 40,000 BEST BOOKS IN PRINT

THE READER'S CATALOG

TO ORDER: CALL 1 800 733-BOOK
OR VISIT YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE TODAY
$34.95 • Distributed by Consortium

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brooklyn Dodgers and (from the conventional perspective of our own day) a most unlikely candidate for the job. Rickey was a fundamentalist Christian, so pious that he never attended games on Sundays. He was also a conservative Republican and an avid anti-Communist. Throughout the years of the "experiment" of integrating baseball, he repeatedly denied that he was driven by anything higher than mere self-interest—that is, the desire to win games. But the evidence shows otherwise. The road he chose was hard, dangerous, and lonely.

The first and most important step was to find the right man for the job, and in Jackie Robinson, Rickey found someone close to perfect. Robinson had gone to schools and played on teams that were overwhelmingly white, and had gotten on very well. At the same time, he had experienced the prejudice that was the common lot of black Americans, and had passionately resisted it. (In the Army, his response to attempts to degrade and humiliate him had led to a court-martial, at which he was acquitted of all charges.) Above all, he was undaunted. As in some modern version of a Homeric hero—to a student of the classics, the analogy comes inescapably to mind—his distinguishing attributes included good looks, speed of foot, strength, courage, righteous anger, and the powerful drive to achieve the excellence that the Greeks called *aretē*.

In 1946, Rickey signed Robinson to a contract with Montreal, the Dodgers' top minor-league team, and the adventure began. Rampersad recounts how Rickey prepared his hero:

> "I know you're a good player," Rickey barked. "What I don't know is whether you have the guts."
>
> Jack started to answer hotly, in defense of his manhood, when Rickey explained, "I'm looking for a ball player with guts enough not to fight back."

Caught up now in the drama, Rickey stripped off his coat and enacted out a variety of parts that portrayed examples of an offended Jim Crow. Now he was a white hotel clerk rudely refusing Jack accommodations, now a supercilious white waiter in a restaurant, now a brutish railroad conductor. He became a foul-mouthed opponent, Jack recalled, talking about "my race, my parents, in language that was almost unendurable." Now he was a vengeful base runner, vindictive spikes flashing in the sun, sliding into Jack's black flesh—"How do you like that, nigger boy?" At one point he swung his pudgy fist at Jack's head. Above all, he insisted, Jack could not strike back. He could not explode in righteous indignation; only then would this experiment be likely to succeed.

In the next few years Robinson would experience most of the abuses Rickey had foreseen, and then some. Many of his teammates were cold to him, while some actually circulated a petition against him and the most popular Dodger, Dixie Walker, asked to be traded. From the enemy dugout, he was exposed to the most vicious taunts. To a man of his ardent temperament, the restraint he imposed on himself must have been superhumanly difficult; but, aided by Rickey, by the Dodgers' manager Leo Durocher, by players like the shortstop Pee Wee Reese, and, at a higher level, by National League president Ford Frick, he practiced it faithfully until he was firmly established—and, with him, the right of blacks to play major-league baseball on the same terms as whites.

AS RAMPERSAD documents, Robinson was part of the golden age of the civil-rights movement, and he was very clear about its goals: "We ask for nothing special," he once

Once upon a time, there was a young man named Ken who collected books. Soon, there were so many books, and so little room, that he realized he had to become a bookdealer and move to bigger digs.

Ken married Jane and they moved to an old brick firehouse in Western Massachusetts. They filled the building with shelves and their growing collection remarkable books.

Judaica in all languages,
exile literature,
the Holocaust,
the Middle East,
psychoanalysis,
& the social sciences.

A catalogue goes out every month to the four corners of the earth, and then the orders come in by phone, fax, e-mail, and...Yes... people occasionally do ring our doorbell. So, when you're visiting in the area... at the National Yiddish Book Center, off to ski in Vermont, or touring colleges with your kids, come browse & schmooze with us!

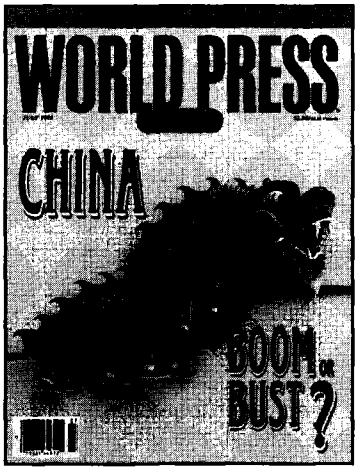
SCHOEN BOOKS

at the old firehouse
7 Sugarloaf St.
S.Deerfield, MA 01373
tel.: 413-665-0066
fax: 413-665-0069
schoen@TriScho.jpr.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU CAN READ THESE . . .

OR YOU CAN READ THIS.



You can't subscribe to every newspaper and magazine in the world, and you don't have to. WORLD PRESS REVIEW is the English-language digest of the international press. Every month, the editors sift through hundreds of news- papers and magazines from all over the world, looking for items that illuminate, instruct and entertain. In any given issue, stories appear from such diverse publications as *The Financial Times* of London, *The Beijing Review*, *The Daily Nation* of Nairobi, and *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, to name just a few.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW is highly esteemed for its presentation of international commentary on issues from politics and economics to social and cultural trends, science, and the environment. It provides new perspectives on the most current events and highlights important stories the U.S. media has missed. By using journals of every political persuasion and identifying their affiliation (conservative, liberal, pro-government, etc.), WORLD PRESS REVIEW shows all sides of an issue and lets readers draw their own conclusions. No other magazine gives a more accurate and wide-ranging view of how the rest of the world sees current events.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW is an essential periodical for libraries—it is an invaluable reference tool for students, educators, and anyone in pursuit of a complete world view.

YES, start my subscription today and bill me just $24.97 for 12 issues of WORLD PRESS REVIEW. That's $10.43 off the cover price—a savings of over 25%.
In Canada, add $4.00 plus GST. Other foreign, add $20.00 (air-speeded).

Mail to:
WORLD PRESS REVIEW, P.O. Box 1997, Marion OH 43306

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State & Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wrote to a white segregationist. "We ask only that we be permitted to live as you live, and as our nation's Constitution provides." But in the name of these goals, he was prepared to do a very great deal. Inspired in the late 1950's and early 1960's by the nonviolent activism of the younger generation led by Martin Luther King, Jr., he supported the student sit-ins and Freedom Rides even though they made some older veterans of the movement nervous. At King's invitation, Robinson flew to Birmingham, Alabama, to join the protests against Sheriff "Bull" Connor; while there, he publicly denounced Connor and the Alabama state police and directed harsh words as well toward President John F. Kennedy for declining to send in federal troops.

But even as Robinson's outspokenness alarmed some, it did not go nearly far enough for others. Malcolm X, for one, attacked Robinson for attempting to defuse rather than to fan black rage. Sympathizing with blacks frustrated by the slowness of progress, Robinson nevertheless stood firm in his integrationist principles, and was prepared to defend "establishment" blacks like Ralph Bunche, then serving as U.S. ambassador to the UN. In the wake of charges by Malcolm X and Adam Clayton Powell that Bunche had "sold out," Robinson boldly retorted that "Malcolm is very militant on Harlem street corners where militancy is not dangerous," but that he lacked "one-twentieth of the integrity and leadership" of a man like Bunche. For this and other, similar statements Robinson would himself be accused of being an Uncle Tom. Undeterred, he went his way, castigating the separatism and violence of the "black power" movement, and castigating as well the anti-Semitism that was its frequent accompaniment.

Robinson's devotion to his country, a hopeful patriotism that marked the early civil-rights movement as a whole, was part of a broader vision in which the struggle for civil rights in America took its place within the worldwide struggle for freedom. He was, in short, a spirited and consistent anti-Communist. In 1949, the famous black singer Paul Robeson had declared, before a leftist audience in Paris, "It is unthinkable that American Negroes would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations against a country [the Soviet Union] which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind." Robinson, asked to give his own views before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, retorted that, if war came, American blacks would "do their best to help their country win the war—against Russia or any other enemy that threatened us." Years later, in 1967, when such ideas were badly out of fashion, Robinson went so far as to criticize his friend and idol, Martin Luther King, Jr., for the latter's one-sided attacks on American policy in Vietnam. "Why is it, Martin," he asked, "that you seem to ignore the blood which is upon [Communist] hands and to speak only of the 'guilt' of the United States?"

IT IS sweet to remember a time when America had leaders of such character and wisdom; sweeter still, that the leader in question was an indomitable hero of the playing field. As the sportswriter Red Smith put it, in sentences quoted by Rampersad, "The word for Jackie Robinson is 'unconquerable.' . . . He would not be defeated. Not by the other team and not by life." We must be grateful to Rampersad's fine book for reminding us of this man and of the ideas that animated him, for we may never see another like him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You know you love surprises...

let's bring it in!

—Advisor to Priam, the King of Troy around 1184B.C.

In global infrastructure finance, the wrong advice can open the door to trouble on your project.

For your next project, you need a financial advisor that will provide you with objective, unbiased ideas designed to suit your long-term needs—first, and only. An advisor with extensive global reach—one that will deliver access to virtually every public and private capital market worldwide.

You'll find what you need at Fieldstone Private Capital Group, one of the world's leading independent infrastructure finance and advisory firms.

Fieldstone creates customized solutions based upon a thorough understanding of your objectives, the commercial arrangements, the global capital markets, and of the political hurdles that must be cleared on the road to your project's success.

As a result of our client-focused approach, Fieldstone has been ranked as a leading project finance advisory firm for the past four years. To date, Fieldstone has served as advisor for over $7 billion in transactions for clients, worldwide.

From global public and private non-recourse debt and equity placements, to 144A transactions, to cross border lease structures, and high yield financings, let Fieldstone help you make the right decision for your next infrastructure project.

Please contact any of the following offices:

New York	London	Kuala Lumpur
1-212-692-3400	44-171-233-3190	60-3-201-1703

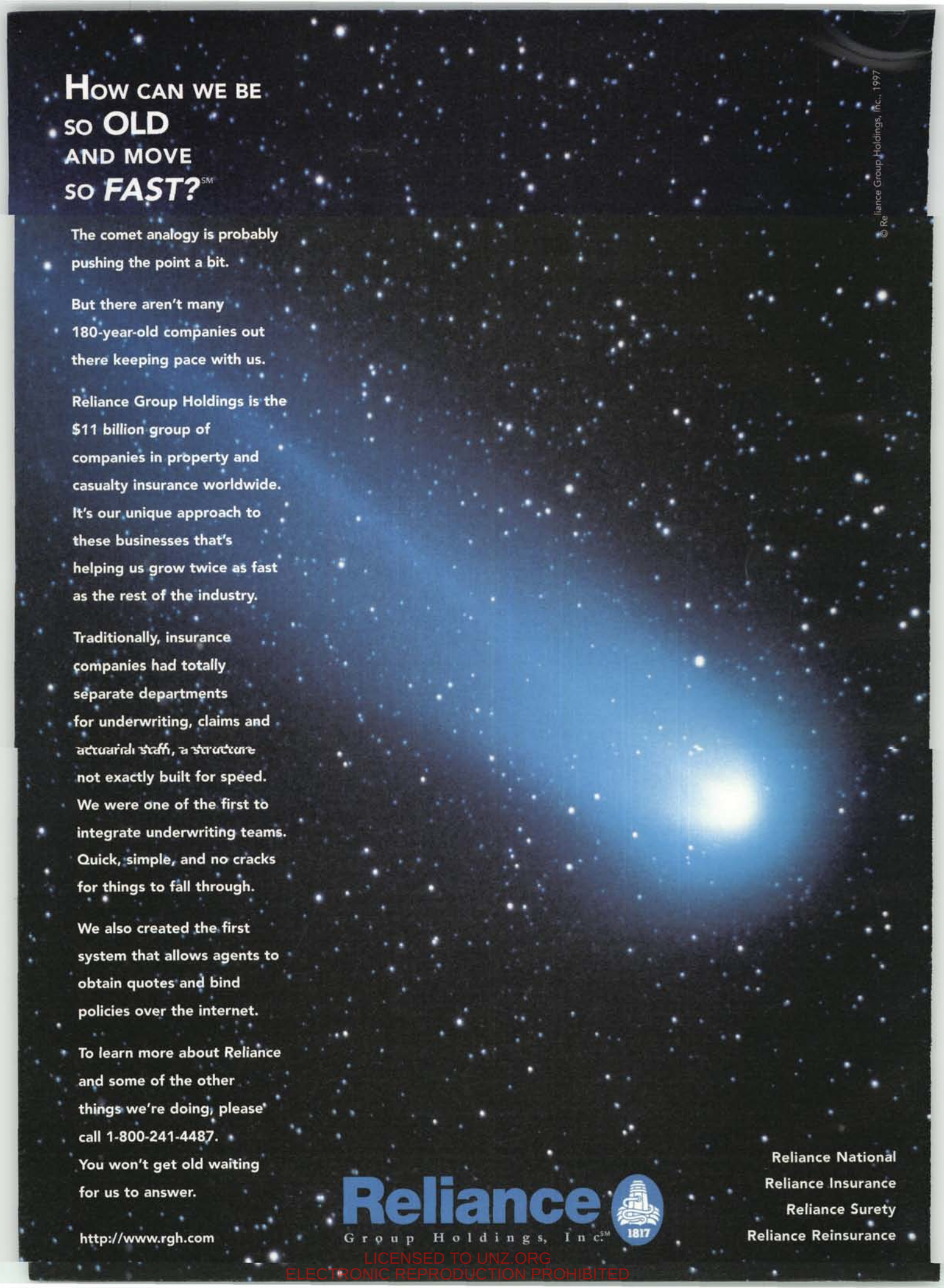
FIELDSTONE

PRIVATE CAPITAL GROUP

New York • London • Hong Kong • Kuala Lumpur • Bangkok • Prague • Sydney

The Bettmann Archive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


HOW CAN WE BE SO OLD AND MOVE SO FAST?SM
The comet analogy is probably pushing the point a bit.
But there aren't many 180-year-old companies out there keeping pace with us.
Reliance Group Holdings is the $11 billion group of companies in property and casualty insurance worldwide. It's our unique approach to these businesses that's helping us grow twice as fast as the rest of the industry.
Traditionally, insurance companies had totally separate departments for underwriting, claims and actuarial staff, a structure not exactly built for speed. We were one of the first to integrate underwriting teams. Quick, simple, and no cracks for things to fall through.
We also created the first system that allows agents to obtain quotes and bind policies over the internet.
To learn more about Reliance and some of the other things we're doing, please call 1-800-241-4487. You won't get old waiting for us to answer.
http://www.rgh.com
Reliance
Group Holdings, Inc.SM
1817
Reliance National
Reliance Insurance
Reliance Surety
Reliance Reinsurance
© Reliance Group Holdings, Inc., 1997

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED